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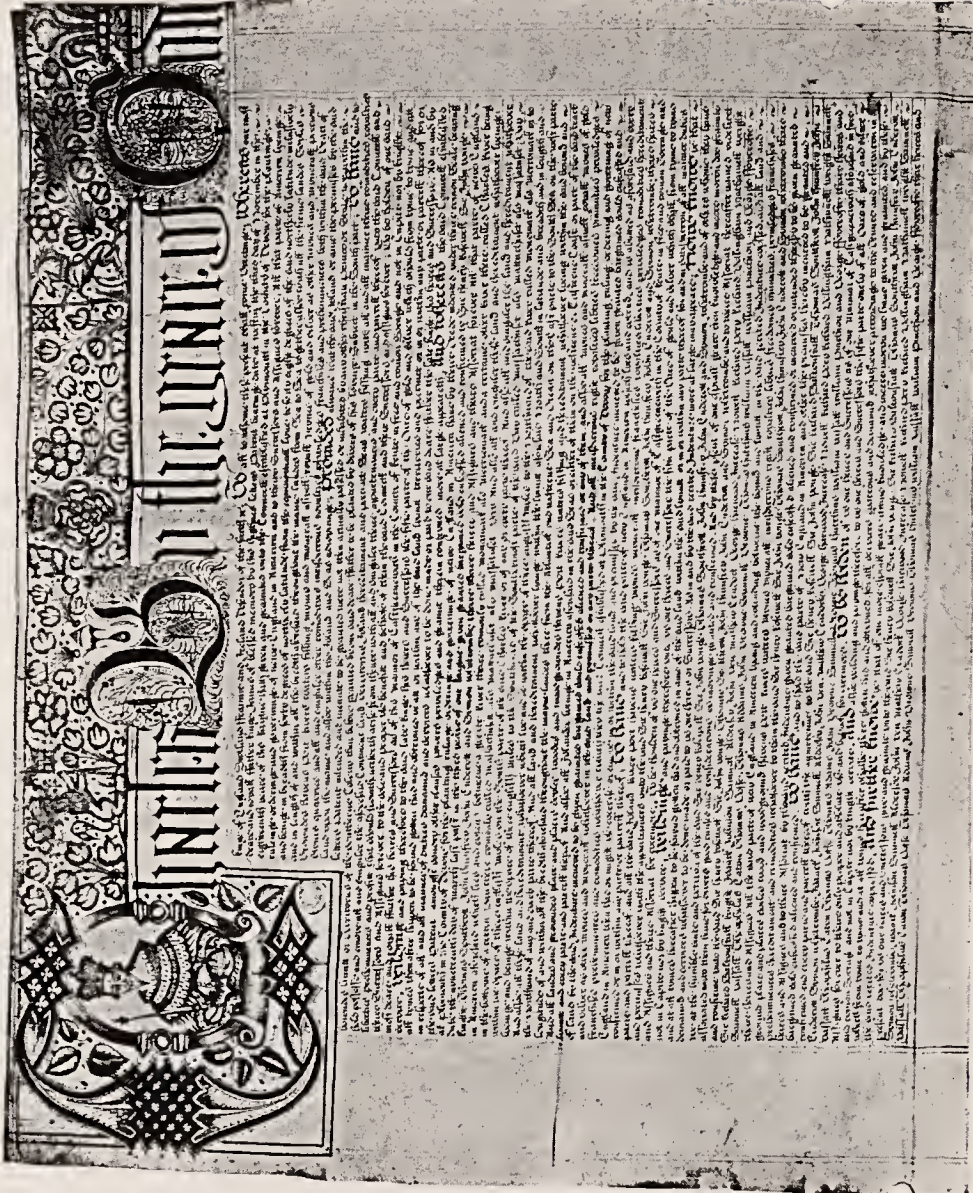




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MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY CHARTER  
From the duplicate in possession of the Essex Institute



## THE PUBLIC SERVICE OF JOHN ENDECOTT IN THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY.

BY WILLIAM DISMORE CHAPPLE.

By the Great Patent of New England, James I, on the third of November, 1620, granted to "the council established at Plymouth in the County of Devon for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing of New England in America, and to their successors and assigns forever, all that circuit, continent, precincts and limits in America lying and being in breadth from the fortieth degree of Northerly latitude to the forty-eighth degree of Northerly latitude, (in other words from the Northerly line of Virginia to the Gulf of St. Lawrence) and in breadth through the mainland from sea to sea." One of the attempts made by the Council of New England to give value to its property was by dividing the territory among its individual members. Twenty noblemen and gentlemen in 1622 divided among themselves in severalty the country along the coast from the Bay of Fundy to Narragansett Bay. The region about Cape Ann was awarded to Lord Sheffield. The Patentees resolved that these parts should be counties and the "lords of the counties may of themselves subdivide their said counties into manors and lordships as to them shall seem best." Each shareholder thus became the lawful proprietor of his portion with absolute title thereto, clothed with all the powers of government originally in the king and by him vested in them.

Edward Winslow, a leader of the colonists in Plymouth, was sent by them to England in 1623 to further their interest in the fisheries. Lord Sheffield became interested in Winslow and conveyed his portion of New England to "Robert Cushman and Edward Winslow and their associ-

ates at Plymouth in New England." The original of this Sheffield grant is now preserved in the Essex Institute.

About 1623 the Reverend John White, rector of Trinity Church of Dorchester, England, a most eminent Puritan preacher and who is often called the father of the Massachusetts Colony, became interested in the founding of a settlement in New England, and as some forty to fifty fishing vessels from the West of England were fishing for cod and bartering for furs off the New England coast, he conceived the idea of establishing a settlement there and recounts in the Planters' Plea, written by him in 1630,

That these merchants bethought themselves how they might bring that project to effect, and communicated their purpose to others, alleging the conveniency of compassing their project with a small charge, by the opportunity of their fishing trade, in which they are accustomed to double-man their ships, that, by the help of many hands, they might despatch their voyage and lade their ship with fish while the fishing season lasted; which could not be done with a bare sailing company. Now it was conceived that, the fishing being ended, the spare men that were above their necessary sailors, might be left behind with provisions for a year; and when that ship returned the next year, they might assist them in fishing, as they had done the former year; and, in the mean time, might employ themselves in building, and planting corn, which with the provisions of fish, fowl and venison, that the land yielded, would afford them the chief of their food. This proposition of theirs took so well that it drew on divers persons to join with them in this project; the rather because it was conceived that not only their own fishermen, but the rest of our nation that went thither on the same errand, might be much advantaged, not only by fresh victual, which that Colony might spare them in time, but withal and more, by the benefit of their ministers' labors, which they might enjoy during the fishing season; whereas otherwise, being usually upon those voyages nine or ten months in the year, they were left all the while without any means of instruction at all. Compassion towards the fishermen, and partly some expectation of gain, prevailed so far that for the planting of a Colony in New-England there was raised a stock of more than £3000, intended to be paid in in five years, but afterwards disbursed in a shorter time.



Winslow and his associates at Plymouth conveyed to White and his associates a site at Cape Ann for fishing and planting, and the Dorchester Company landed fourteen persons to pass the winter and sent out livestock, erecting a house and stages to dry fish and vats for the manufacture of salt. But everything went amiss; mis-haps befell the vessels, the price of fish went down and "the land men being ill-chosen and ill-commanded, commenced falling into many disorders and did the company little service." An attempt was made to retrieve the affair by putting the colony under different management. The Dorchester partnership heard of "some religious and well-affected persons who had lately moved out of New Plymouth on account of their dislike of their principals of rigid separation," of which number Mr. Roger Conant was one, "a religious, sober and prudent gentleman," whose brother recommended him to Mr. White with whom he was well acquainted. He was at Nantasket and the Dorchester Partnership engaged Conant to be their superintendent at Cape Ann to have charge of all of their affairs including fishing and planting. The Reverend Mr. Lyford, who was with Conant at Nantasket, agreed to be their minister but the change in management was not followed by the profits which had been hoped for and "the next year the adventurers became so far discouraged that they abandoned the further prosecution of this design and took order for the dissolving of the company on land and sold away their shipping and other provisions." But Mr. White was not discouraged and at his suggestion when most of the land men returned to England, a few of the most honest and industrious resolved to stay behind and take charge of the cattle sent over the year before, and not liking their seat at Cape Ann and finding "a peninsula with good harbors called by the Indians 'Nahumkeike'," Conant and his companions removed there in the fall of 1626. Rev. Mr. Lyford refused to remain and being unable to persuade the others to leave, he and his wife went to Virginia where he shortly died. Conant's wife must have been with him as their fourth child, Roger Conant, Jr., was born in 1626, the first white child born in Salem.

White wrote to Conant asking him "not so to desert the business, faithfully promising that, if himself, with three others, whom he knew to be honest and prudent men, viz: John Woodbury, John Balch and Peter Palfrey, employed by the Adventurers, would stay at Naumkeag, and give timely notice thereof, he would provide a patent for them, and likewise send them whatever they should write for, either men or provision or goods wherewith to trade with the Indians." With difficulty Conant prevailed upon his companions to persevere.

A year elapsing after Mr. White's promise and nothing of importance having been heard from England, John Woodbury was sent there to procure supplies and his appeal aroused the Rev. Mr. White to greater exertions. According to a deposition in the Essex Registry of Deeds, Volume 5, Leaf 108, Humphrey Woodbury, a son of John Woodbury, deposes that his father after three years' absence in New England returned to his home in Somerset, England, where he remained for half a year and that he returned with him to Naumkeag, arriving in June, 1628.

#### ENDECOTT'S FIRST CONNECTION WITH THE ADVENTURERS

White, in the Planter's Plea, recounts that "Some then of the Adventurers, that still continued their desire to set forward the plantation of a Colony there, conceiving that if some more cattle were sent over to those few men left behind, they might not only be a means of the comfortable subsisting of such as were already in the country, but of inviting some other of their friends and acquaintances to come over to them, adventured to send over twelve kine and bulls more; and conferring casually with some gentlemen of London moved them to add unto them as many more, by which occasion, the business came to agitation afresh in London, and being at first approved by some and disliked by others, by argument and disputation it grew to be more vulgar; insomuch that some men showing some good affection to the work and offering the help of their purses if fit men might be procured to go over, inquiry was made whether any would be willing to engage their persons in the voyage. By this inquiry



it fell out that among others they lighted at last on Master Endecott, a man well known to divers persons of good note, who manifested much willingness to accept of the offer as soon as it was tendered; which gave great encouragement to such as were upon the point of resolution to set on this work of erecting a new Colony upon the old foundation."

According to a pamphlet published by Sir Roper Lethbridge in 1912 it appears that Endecott was born at Chagford, Devonshire, England in 1589, the son of Thomas and Alice Endecott. Little is known of his early life or occupation but Felt found at the State House a bill which Endecott, in his own writing, presented to the General Court, for the care of a man who had been left in his charge, in which he describes himself as a chirurgeon. He was of a family of respectable standing and moderate fortune and belonged to that class in England called gentlemen. His letters show that he was a man of liberal education and cultivated mind. He had been a parishioner in Dorchester of the Rev. John White and also of the Rev. Mr. Skelton, who later became pastor of the First Church in Salem. While a resident of London John Endecott married Anna Gower, a lady of influential family and a cousin of Matthew Cradock, the governor of the Massachusetts Company in England. Some of her needlework is still preserved in the Essex Institute. He was in his fortieth year when he emigrated to New England and from the fact that he is from the first referred to as Captain Endecott it is apparent that he must have had some military experience.

The following extract from Johnson's "Wonder Working Providence of Sions Saviour in New England," published in 1654, will illustrate the estimation in which he was held at this period:

The much honoured John Indicat came over with them, to governe, a fit instrument to begin this Wildernesse-worke; of courage bold, undaunted, yet sociable and of a cheerfull spirit, loving and austere, applying himselfe to either as occasion served, and now let no man be offended at the author's rude verse, penned of purpose to keepe in memory

the names of such worthies as Christ made strong for himself in this unwonted work of his.

John Endicat, Twice Governour of the English  
inhabiting the Massachusetts Bay in N. England  
Strong valiant John wilt thou march on, and take up  
station first,  
Christ cal'd hath thee, his Souldier be, and faile not of  
thy trust;  
Wilderness wants Christs grace supplants, then plant his  
Churches pure,  
With Tongues gifted, and graces led, help thou to his  
procure;  
Undanted thou wilt not allow, Malignant men to wast:  
Christs Vineyard heere, whose grace should cheer, his well-  
beloved's tast.  
Then honoured be, the Christ hath thee their Generall  
promoted:  
To shew their love in place above, his people have thee  
voted.  
Yet must thou fall, to grave with all the Nobles of the  
Earth,  
Thou rotting worme, to dust must turn, and worse but for  
new birth.

On March 19, 1628, the Plymouth Council granted to Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Younge, Thomas Southcott, John Humphrey, John Endecott and Simon Whetcombe, their heirs and assigns, all that part of New England extending from three miles North of every part of the Merrimac River to three miles South of every part of the Charles River, and from the Atlantic to the South Sea, upon condition that one-fifth of all the gold and silver discovered in the granted territory should pass to the crown. Many disputes later arose as to whether the boundary was parallel to the Merrimac River and three miles from it or whether it ran East and West from a point three miles north of the most northerly portion of the Merrimac River.

Endecott was the only one of the six patentees who came over at the time and none of the others ever came excepting John Humphrey, who had married Lady Susan, daughter of the Earl of Lincoln and sister of Lady Arbella Johnson. He came over in 1632 and returned to



England in 1641. Endecott, accompanied by about fifty people, sailed from Weymouth, England, June 20, 1628 in the ship *Abigail*, Henry Gaudan, Master, and after a successful voyage of about ten weeks arrived at Naumkeag on September 6, 1628. They were welcomed by Conant and his three sober men who waded into the water and bore their new governor upon their shoulders to the shore.

Naturally the old planters were disappointed that their settlement was to be absorbed and their authority superseded by that of the new government but it appears that the Massachusetts Company treated them with great consideration and kindness, for their letter to Endecott of April 17, 1629 says:— "And that it may appear, as well to all the world, as to the old planters themselves, that we seek not to make them slaves, (as it seems by your letter some of them think themselves to be become by means of our Patent,) we are content they shall be partakers of such privileges as we, from his Majesty's especial grace, with great cost, favor of personages of note, and much labor, have obtained; and that they shall be incorporated into this Society, and enjoy not only those lands which formerly they have manured, but such a further proportion as by the advice and judgment of yourself, and the rest of the Council, shall be thought fit for them, or any of them."

They were also granted the right to continue the raising of tobacco, which was greatly desired by them but the growing of which was objected to by the promoters of the Dorchester Company. Conant was a man of great tact and judgment and by his advice the old planters accepted the authority of Endecott and became an efficient part of his colony.

In commemoration of the happy settlement of all disputes between the old planters and John Endecott's party, the name of the settlement was, a month after Higginson's arrival, at his suggestion, changed to Salem, meaning "peace." White, alluding to this controversy between the old planters under Conant and the new comers under Endecott, in speaking of the change of name from Nahumkeik to Salem, says that it was done "upon a fair ground



in remembrance of a peace settled upon a conference at a general meeting between them and their neighbors after expectance of some dangerous jar." In this connection he also refers to the opinion held by some, that the Indians might formerly have had some intercourse with the Jews, observing, "Howsoever it be, it falls out that the name of the place which our late Colony hath chosen for their seat, proves to be perfect Hebrew, being called Nahum Keike, by interpretation, The Bosom of Consolation." Cotton Mather also says "Of which place I have somewhere met with an odd observation, that the name of it was rather Hebrew than Indian; for Nahum signifies Comfort and Keik signifies a Haven; and our English not only found it a haven of comfort, but happened also to put a Hebrew name upon it; for they called it Salem, for the peace which they had and hoped in it; and so it is called unto this day." Mather probably derived this whimsical etymology from Scottow, who says, "Its original name was called Naumkek, the Bosom of Consolation, being its signification, as the learned have observed." Captain John Smith spells it Naemkeck, Naemkecke and Naimkeck. Conant in later life said he had no part in naming the town.

It was the policy of the new company to appoint only strong men to office, men whom they knew could be trusted so far removed from headquarters, and John Endecott was known to John White, promoter of the colony, as an efficient business manager whose courage and integrity no one ever questioned. The colonists were also urged to "choose such as are found both in profession and confession men fearing God and hating bribes." Endecott was surely such a one who could govern a weak and striving colony with firm hand, overcoming every obstacle, crushing insubordination and excluding every hostile element which might weaken or divide the colony.

#### THE FIRST WINTER IN SALEM UNDER ENDECOTT

The new settlers together with the old planters already at Naumkeag, made a colony of about sixty people, and Endecott at once assumed authority and began the building of houses and undertook to prepare the colonists for

the approaching winter. On September 13th, a week after his arrival, he sent back to the Adventurers in Dorchester a letter which gave great encouragement to them. Richard Brackenbury by a deposition recorded in Registry of Deeds, Book 5, Page 107, and made by him on January 20, 1680 at the age of eighty years, deposes that he came over with Endecott and landed on September 6, 1628 and found living at Naumkeag old Goodman Norman and his son, William Allen, Walter Knight and others who were of the Dorchester Company, and that they had sundry houses built at Naumkeag, as also had John Woodbury, Mr. Conant, Peter Palfrey, John Balch and others. According to the deposition Knight told the governor that there was a large house erected by the Dorchester Adventurers near the fishing stage at Cape Ann. Endecott thereupon sent Knight, Brackenbury and others to take down the house and move it to Naumkeag, where it was erected for the governor on what is now Washington Street somewhere between Federal and Church Streets, and which Endecott occupied most of the time as his residence until he removed to Boston in 1655. This house was two stories high, of the prevailing order of architecture of the period called Elizabethan, which was but slightly removed from the Gothic.

Soon after Endecott's arrival he sent Ralph, Richard and William Sprague to explore the country around Mishawaum, now called Charlestown, where they met a tribe of Indians called Aberjinians by reason of whose consent they commenced a plantation. They were followed by other colonists the next year. Endecott's reason for such speedy action was that he anticipated that William Blackstone and William Jeffries, under authority of a son of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, would undertake to put John Oldham in possession of this locality, and the next year he was especially instructed by his employer, the Dorchester Company, to hold this territory as against Oldham.

In 1625 Captain Wollaston and a sporting gentleman named Thomas Morton, with a large number of indented white servants, undertook to found a settlement within what is now the City of Quincy calling the place Mount



Wollaston. After a while Wollaston became tired of his venture and carried away many of his servants to Virginia where he sold them at a good profit. Morton thereupon seized the place and persuading the remaining servants to become his partners, proceeded to sell rum and firearms to the Indians, teaching them how to make bullets and to load and fire. The settlers, especially those at Plymouth, were very much disturbed by this action, realizing that this settlement had become the headquarters of all the undesirables who had come to New England, and that the sale of firearms to the Indians would result in great personal danger to themselves. Therefore Miles Standish was sent to capture Morton, which he did, and in June before Endecott's arrival he was shipped back to England. Before Morton's capture he had changed the name of the locality to Merrymount and had erected a May Pole eighty feet high on which he and his associates posted scurrilous notices, attacking the other settlers and those in authority, together with obscene and vulgar jokes and rhymes. When Endecott arrived he visited Merrymount, as the report said, "in the purifying spirit of authority" and had the May Pole cut down, "rebuking the inhabitants for their profaneness and admonishing them to see to it that there should be better walking." Morton returned to New England in August 1629 but was shipped back to old England later under suspicion of being concerned in a murder, and thereafter was a very bitter opponent of the colony, publishing a scurrilous book called "New English Canaan," poking fun at all its various officials and always referring to Endecott as Captain Littleworth.

Speaking of the party who were there with Wollaston, Governor Bradford said:

Amongst whom was one Mr. Morton who, it should seeme, had some small adventure (of his owne or other mens) amongst them; but had little respecte amongst them, and was sleighted by ye meanest servants. Haveing continued ther some time, and not finding things to answer their expectations, nor profite to arise as they looked for, Captaine Wallaston takes a great part of ye sarvants, and transports them to Virginia, wher he puts them of at good rates, selling



their time to other men; and writs back to one Mr. Rassdall, one of his cheefe partners, and accounted their marchants, to bring another parte of them to Verginia Likewise, intending to put them of ther as he had done ye rest. And he, with ye consents of ye said Rasdall, appoyneted one Fitcher to be his Lieutenante, and governe ye remaines of ye plantation, till he or Rasdall returned to take further order thereabout. But this Morton abovesaid, haveing more craft then honestie, (who had been a kind of petiefogger of Furnefells Inne) in ye others absence, watches an oppertunitie, (commons being but hard amongst them) and gott some strong drinck and other junkats, and made them a feast; and after they were merie, he begane to tell them, he would give them good counsell. You see (saith he) that many of your fellows are carried to Virginia; and if you stay till this Rasdall returne, you will also be carried away and sould for slaves with ye rest. Therefore I would advise you to thruste out this Lieutenante Fitcher; and I, having a parte in the plantation, will receive you as my partners and consociats; so may you be free from service, and we will converse, trad, plante and live together as equalls and supporte and protecte one another, or to like effecte. This counsell was easily received; so they took oppertunitie, and thrust Lieutenante Fitcher out a dores, and would suffer him to come no more amongst them, but forct him to seeke bread to eate, and other releefe from his neighbours, till he could gett passages for England. After this they fell to great licenciousnes, and led a dissolute life, powering out themselves into all profanenes. And Morton became lord of misrule and maintained (as it were) a schoole of Athisme. And after they had gott some good into their hands, and gott much by trading with ye Indeans, they spent it as vainly, in quaffing and drinking both wine and strong waters in great exsess, and, as some reported, 10<sup>li</sup> worth in a morning. They allso set up a May-pole drinking and dancing aboute it many days togeather, inviting the Indean women, for their consorts, dancing and frisking together (like so many fairies, or furies rather) and worse practises. As if they had anew revived and celebrated the feasts of ye Roman Goddes Flora, or ye beasly practises of ye madd Bacchinalians. Morton likewise (to show his poetrie) composed sundry rimes and verses, some tending to lasciviousnes, and others to ye detraction and scandall of some persons, which he affixed to this idle or idoll May-polle. They chainged

also the name of their place, and in stead of calling it Mounte Wollaston, they called it Meriemounte, as if this joylity would have lasted ever. But this continued not long, for after Morton was sent for England (as follows to be declared), shortly after came over that worthy gentlman, Mr. John Indecott, who brought over a patent under ye broad seall, for ye government of ye Massachusetts, who visiting those parts caused yt May-polle to be cutt downe, and rebuked them for their profannes, and admonished them to looke ther should be better walking; so they now, or others, changed ye name of their place again, and called it Mounte-Dagon.

It is therefore evident that the cutting down of the May Pole was not an attempt by Endecott to stop innocent merrymaking, but was the breaking up of a nest of irresponsible persons, which was entirely justified. Morton again returned to New England in December, 1643, and was fined one hundred pounds, which he could not pay and was therefore imprisoned for a year and then went to Agameticus where he died in 1645 or 1646.

The only account which we have of the first winter at Naumkeag is a rather frivolous one given by Edward Johnson in his "Wonder Working Providence," who says that the Colonists

Began to build a Town, which is called Salem, after some little space of time having made a tryall of the Sordid spirits of the Neighbouring Indians, the most bold among them began to gather to divers places, which they began to take up for their owne, those that were sent over servants, having itching desires after novelties found a reddier way to make an end of their Masters provision, then they could finde meanes to get more; They that come over their own men had but little left to feed on, and most began to repent when their strong beere and full cups ran as small as water in a large land, but little corne, and the poor Indians so far from relieving them, that they were forced to lengthen out their owne food with Acorns, and that which added to their present distracted thoughts the Ditch betweene England and their new place of abode was so wide, that they could not leap over with a lope-staffe, yet some delighting their eye with the rarity of things present, and feeding their fancies with new discoveries at the Springs approach,



they made shift to rub out the Winters cold by the fire-side, having fuell enough growing at their very doores, turning down many a drop of the botell, and burning tobacco with all the ease they could, discoursing betweene one while and another of the great progresse they would make after the Summers Sun had changed the Earthe white furr'd gowne into a greene mantell.

But that first winter was a terrible one for the settlers and they suffered greatly from sickness and death; scurvy and fever contracted by some on board ship spread to others so that many of them improperly fed and poorly housed to withstand the inclemencies of a New England winter became ill and died, and there were hardly enough left to nurse the sick and bury the dead. During this terrible sickness they were absolutely without medical assistance. In their distress Governor Endecott sent a messenger to Governor Bradford at Plymouth asking for aid, and Dr. Samuel Fuller, a prominent member and deacon of the Plymouth Church, as well as a man of considerable medical skill, was sent to them and remained at Salem six months. During his visit Endecott suffered a great loss in the death of his wife, by whom he had had no children. She had evidently been in poor health either before starting or during the voyage, for Governor Cradock, head of the company in England, in his reply to the letter that Endecott sent a week after his arrival, expresses the hope that his good cousin, Endecott's wife, shall have fully recovered her health. Endecott appreciated the kindly spirit of the Plymouth authorities in sending Dr. Fuller to them and wrote to Governor Bradford:—

Right Worthy Sr.

It is a thing not usuall that servants to one mr. and of ye same household should be strangers; I assure you that I desire it not, nay, to speake more plainly, I cannot be so to you. God's people are all marked with one and ye same marke, and sealed with one and ye same seale; and have for ye maine, one and ye same harte, guided by one and same spirite of truth, and where this is, there can be no discorde, nay, here must needs be sweete harmonie. And ye same request with you I make unto ye Lord, that we may, as Christian brethren, be united by a heavenly and unvained



love; bending all our harts and forces in furthering a worke beyond our strength, with reverence and fear, fastening our eyse allways on him that only is able to direct and prosper all our ways. I acknowledge my selfe much bound to you for your kind love and care in sending Mr. Fuller among us, and rejoyce much yet I am by him satisfied touching your judgments of ye outward forme of God's worshipec. It is, as farr as I can yet gather no other then is warranted by ye evidence of truth, and ye same which I have professed and maintained ever since ye Lord in mercie revealed himself unto me; being farr from you commone reporte that hath been spread of you touching that perticuler. But God's children must not looke for less here below, and it is ye great mercie of God, that he strengthens them to goe through with it. I shall not neede at this time to be tedious unto you, for God willing I purpose to see your face shortly. In ye mean time, I humbly take my leave of you, comiting you to ye Lord's blessed protection and rest. Your assured loving friend,

John Endecott.

Naumkeag May 11, Ano 1629.

This letter not only is of importance in showing his spirit of appreciation but that Endecott and the colonists at Salem, who up to that time had not been really separatists from the Church of England, were converted by Dr. Fuller to the congregational form of worship.

The Dorchester Company, like that which had preceded it, and like the London Adventurers, concerned in the settlement of Plymouth, was but a voluntary partnership with no corporate powers, but White was at work getting together a more powerful association of those who were disaffected with the affairs of church and state. Charles I on the fourth of March 1629 granted to the six original patentees, including John Endecott, and to twenty other associates, the same territory which was included in the grant from the Plymouth Company of 1628 and constituted them "one body corporate and politique in fact and in name by the name of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in Newe England with full powers of government, authorizing the corporation to name all officers they might find needful for that government and plantation, providing that "Theis our letters patents or the duplicate or exemplification

thereof shalbe to all and everie such chiefe commaunders, captains, governors and other officers and ministers as should be employed by the Governor and company either in the government of the saide inhabitants and plantation, or in the waye by sea thither or from thence, according to the natures and lymitts of their offices and places respectively."

Matthew Craddock was named governor of the company in England and on February 16, 1629 wrote to Endecott that his letter of September 13th had only reached him three days before, that he thanked Endecott for his good report and for the "large advise" contained in his letter and that in behalf of the company which he said had been much enlarged since Endecott had left England, he wished to assure him that "they would not be wanting by all good means to further the plantation." In fulfilment of this promise an expedition of six vessels sailed for Massachusetts in the spring of 1629. Among the passengers were the Reverend Francis Higginson of Leicester and Reverend Samuel Skelton of Lincolnshire, who were to be the ministers at Naumkeag. The six vessels were the *Talbot*, the *George Bonadventure*, *Lion's Whelp*, *Four Sisters*, *Pilgrim* and the *Mayflower*, of sacred memory, and carried as passengers three hundred men, sixty women and twenty-six children, together with one hundred and fifteen neat cattle, some horses, sheep, goats and six cannon for a fort.

There is an itemized record of all the clothing and supplies which were sent over for the colonists, including various kinds of seed for planting, there being a hog-head each of wheat, rye, barley, oats, beans and peas together with stones and seed of all sorts of fruits, such as peaches, plums, cherries, pears, apples, quince and currants.

#### HIS ELECTION AS GOVERNOR

The first formal election of a governor and council for the colony appears to have been made on the 30th of April 1629 when the Company "thought fitt to settle and establish an absolute government at our plantation in the said Massachusetts Bay in New England" to consist of



thirteen persons, "resydent upon the said plantation," who should "from tyme to tyme, and at all tyme hereafter, have the sole managing and ordering of the government and our affairs there," and "bee entytled by the name of the Governor and Councell of London's Plantation in the Massachusetts Bay in New England" and "chose and elected the said Captain John Endecott to the place of present governor in our said plantation" for one year after he should take his oath of office (which oath was sent to be administered to him in New England) or until the Company should choose a successor, and authorized him and his council, or a majority of them, to fill vacancies in their board, and to elect a deputy governor, secretary and other officers. This order was confirmed on the 18th of May 1629. In the company's letter of May 28th, they say "We have sithence our last and accourding as we then advised, at a full and ample Court assembled, elected and established you Captain John Endecott to the place of present Governor in our Plantation." The charter was engrossed in duplicate, each on four sheets of parchement measuring 30 by 24 inches. One was sent to Governor Endecott on the ship *George* in the care of Samuel Sharp and was received by Endecott in June 1629. It was formerly in the possession of the Salem Athenæum but is now on deposit at the Essex Institute. The other copy was brought over by Governor Winthrop and is now at the State House. The company also had a seal made in silver which bore in the center the figure of an Indian, who appears to be speaking the words "come over and help us." This seal was also delivered to Governor Endecott by Samuel Sharp but is not now known to be in existence. The vote of the company after electing the governor goes on to authorize him to make, ordain and establish all manner of wholesome and reasonable laws, etc., not contrary to the laws of England.

The record of a general court holden at London the 30th day of April 1629 by the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, after some general statements, says that

Having taken into due consideration the merit, worth and good desert of Captain John Endecott and others lately gone



over from hence with purpose to reside and continue there, we have, with full consent and authority of this court, and by erection of hands, chosen and elected the said Captain John Endecott to the place of present Governor in our said Plantation. Also, by the same power, and with the like full and free consent, we have chosen and elected Mr. Samuel Skelton, Francis Bright, John Browne, Mr. Francis Higginson, Mr. Samuel Browne, Mr. Thomas Graves and Mr. Samuel Sharpe, these seven, to be of the said Council; and do hereby give power and authority to the said Governor and those seven to make choice of three others, such as they, or the greater number of them, in their discretions shall esteem and conceive most fit thereunto, to be also of the said Council. And to the end that the former planters there (Conant and his associates) may have no just occasion of exception, as being excluded out of the privileges of the Company, this Court are content, and do order, by erection of hands, that such of the said former planters as are willing to live within the limits of our Plantation, shall be enabled and are hereby authorized to make choice of two, such as they shall think fit, to supply and make up the number of twelve of the said council; one of which twelve is by the Governor and Council, or the major part of them, to be chosen Deputy to the Governor for the time being.

Two hundred acres of land were to be allotted to each stockholder for each fifty pounds ventured in the common stock of the company. If he settled in the colony, he was to have fifty acres additional for himself and fifty acres more for each member of his family. Each immigrant not a stockholder was to receive fifty acres for himself and the same amount for each member of his family or servant. Transportation was charged at the rate of four pounds for each ton of freight and five pounds for each passenger. Children being at the following reduced rates: Nursing children, free; such as were under four years of age, three children for the price of one adult; under eight years of age, two children for the price of one adult; under twelve years of age, three children for the price of two adults.

No records of Endecott's administration have been preserved, but it appears that he held councils and elections, made laws, granted lands and regulated the civil and reli-

gious affairs of the colony, and a letter of Edward Howes in London in 1633 mentions that twenty-two of Endecott's laws had been laid before the Lords. There can be no doubt, therefore, that he was the first governor of Massachusetts.

Skelton sailed in the *George Bonaventure* about the middle of April, 1629, arriving at Naumkeak June 22d. Higginson and his family were passengers on the *Talbot*, sailing on the 25th of April, 1629, arriving at Cape Ann on Saturday, June 27th and remaining there Sunday. In his journal of the voyage, he says "Monday we came from Cape Ann to go to Naimkecke, the wind northerly. I should have told you before, that, the planters spying our English colors, the Governor sent a shallop with two men on Saturday to Pilot us. These rested the Sabbath with us at Cape Ann; and this day by God's blessing and their directions, we passed the curious and difficult entrance into the large, spacious harbour of Naumkecke. And as we passed along, it was wonderful to behold so many islands replenished with thick wood and high trees, and many fair, green pastures. And being come into the harbour we saw the *George* to our great comfort, there being come on Tuesday, which was seven days before us. We rested that night with glad and thankful hearts that God had put an end to our long and tedious journey through the greatest sea in the world. The next morning the Governor came aboard to our ship and bade us kindly welcome, and invited me and my wife to come on shore and take our lodging in his house, which we did accordingly."

Higginson further says that when he first came to Naumkeik "there were about half a score of houses and a fair house newly built for the governor. We also found an abundance of corn planted by them, very good and well liking. Our governor hath a store of green pease growing in his garden as good as ever I ate in England. Our governor hath also planted a vineyard with great hopes of increase, also mulberries, plums, raspberries, currants, chestnuts, filberts, walnuts, small nuts, hurtleberries and haws of white thorn, near as good as our cherries are in England. They grow in plenty here. We that are



settled in Salem make what effort we can to build houses so that in a short time we shall have a fair town." Skelton by agreement with the Company was to receive 20 pounds in money towards the charges of fitting himself with apparel and other necessities for a voyage, ten pounds more towards providing books and twenty pounds a year salary for three years, and was also to be provided with necessities of diet, housing and firewood, and in convenient time he should have a house and certain lands allotted thereunto. At the end of three years one hundred acres of land were to be assigned to him. He should also have the milk of two kine and half the increase of calves during said three years.

Higginson had the same contract excepting that as he had eight children he was allowed ten pounds a year more salary and ten pounds more towards the expenses of the voyage. Both ministers contracted that they would use their best endeavor in preaching, catechising and in teaching or causing to be taught the company's servants and their children, also the savages and their children.

Shortly after the arrival of Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton, who were non-conforming ministers of the Church of England, necessary measures were taken for the immediate organization of the First Church of the Colony, which still exists as the First Church of Salem. The Puritans who founded the colony and their friends who were struggling for their freedom in England, were not separatists as were those in Plymouth, but non-conformists, who remained within the pale of the Church of England but revolted against the ceremonies and discipline, while not objecting to its doctrine. Endecott was apparently converted to the religious belief of those at Plymouth by what he had learned from Bradford and Dr. Fuller as to their outward form of worship.

Charles Gott, in his letter to Governor Bradford, relates that "On the twentieth of July 1629 it pleased God to move the heart of our governor to set it apart for a solemn day of humiliation for the choice of a pastor and teacher, the former part of the day being spent about the election, every male member having a free voice in the choice of their officers. These two (Higginson and



Skelton) clearing all things by their answers, we saw no reason but that we might freely give our voice for their election after this trial. Their choice was after this manner. Every fit member wrote in a note his name whom the Lord moved him to think was fit for a pastor, and so likewise whom they would have for a teacher. The most voice was for Mr. Skelton to be pastor and Mr. Higginson to be teacher, and they having accepted the trust, Mr. Higginson with three or four more of the gravest members of the church, laid their hands on Mr. Skelton's head using prayers therewith. Then there was an imposition of hands on Mr. Higginson. An informal election of elders and deacons followed. Charles Gott and John Horne were chosen deacons, but their formal election and qualification was delayed "to see if it pleased God to send more able men." The next step was to gather a church or society of communicants. Mr. Higginson drew up a "confession of faith and church covenant according to scripture" of which copies were delivered to thirty persons and an invitation was despatched to the church at Plymouth to send representatives to witness the further proceedings. On the sixth of August 1629, the day appointed for ordination, the two masters prayed and preached. Thirty persons assented to the covenant and associated themselves as a church. Henry Houghton was chosen ruling elder and Gott and Horne were confirmed as deacons. Governor Bradford "and some others with him coming by sea and being hindred by cross winds" could not be there at the beginning of the day, but came into the assembly afterwards and gave them the right hand of fellowship, wishing them all prosperity and a blessed success under such good beginnings.

But this separation from the Church of England gave offence to two of the councillors, John and Samuel Brown, men of standing and influence in the community, who although not stockholders in the enterprise, having come over at their own expense, had been so well thought of by the company that they had been appointed assistants. They felt that the establishment of this church was a secession from the national establishment and with some others of their mind set up a separate worship. The

brothers were brought before Governor Endecott and he "finding those two brothers to be of high spirits and their speeches and practices tending to mutiny and faction, the governor told them that New England was no place for such as they, therefore he sent them back to England at the return of the ships the same year." They were only in Salem five or six weeks. On their return they made complaint to the corporation who submitted to referees the question of compensating them for any loss which they might have sustained. While the action of Endecott may seem arbitrary yet it undoubtedly ended the possibility of the infant colony being split into various religious factions, and as they had left England to avoid the ceremonies of the Established Church of England it was not surprising that they did not wish to see such a church grow in power and influence in the colony. His action was also clearly within his instructions from the the company as they had written him to "suppress a mischief before it had too great a head." "Not," they wrote, "that wee would wrong any man that will leave peaceably within the limitts of our plantacon; but . . . the pservacon of our pruiledges will cheifly depend (under God) upon the first foundacon of our gounmt."

#### ENDECOTT SUPERSEDED BY WINTHROP

In the meantime proceedings of great importance were taking place in the General Court of the company in England. Craddock, the governor, advanced the theory that the management of the company should be transferred from England to the colony, and it was accordingly so voted. A large number of influential men of property having agreed to emigrate, John Winthrop was elected governor and John Humphrey deputy governor, but as the latter's departure was delayed, his place was filled by the election of Thomas Dudley. Over a thousand came over in seventeen vessels in 1630 under the leadership of Governor Winthrop, who himself sailed on the ship *Arbella*, formerly the *Eagle*, the name having been changed in compliment to Lady Arbella Johnson, daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, who was one of its most distinguished passengers. The *Arbella* arrived at Salem



on June 12, 1630 and Winthrop says that they were welcomed by Endecott and others and that "we that were of the assistants, and some other gentlemen, and some of the women and our captain, returned with them to Nahumkeck, where we supped with good venison pasty and good beer, and at night we returned to our ship, but some of the women stayed behind." Their reception was discouraging, however, as more than one quarter of their predecessors at Salem had died during the second winter and many of the survivors were ill and feeble. The faithful Higginson was only able to deliver one sermon after Winthrop's arrival as he was wasting with a hectic fever which proved fatal on the sixth of August, exactly one year from August 6, 1629, the date of his ordination as teacher of the First Church. He left surviving him a widow and eight children. There was a scarcity of all sorts of provisions and not corn or bread enough for a fortnight's supply at the time of the arrival of Winthrop. Of those who came over in 1630 about two hundred died before December of that year, among them being Lady Arbella Johnson, who, coming from a "paradise of plenty and pleasure which she enjoyed in a family of a noble earldom, to a wilderness of wants," survived her arrival at Salem but a month, and her husband died of grief but a few weeks later.

After a few days Winthrop and some of his party went on an exploring expedition for the purpose of locating another settlement, and thereafter he and most of his fellow passengers removed to the neighborhood of Charlestown where they founded various settlements.

On December 28, 1630 the Court of Assistants after several consultations about a suitable place to fortify and for the capital of the Colony, agreed to have it at Newtown, now Cambridge. All the members excepting Captain Endecott, and Thomas Sharpe, who was about to return to England, agreed to build houses and move their military stores there next spring. But Endecott was so attached to Salem that he declined to join with the others in removing to Newtown. This project of building at Newtown and making it the capital was relinquished at the end of the next year to the great damage of Deputy

Governor Dudley and to a disturbance of harmony between him and Governor Winthrop.

Almost the first official act of Governor Winthrop after his arrival, excepting the settlement of a dispute between the captain and passengers of the ship *Mary and John*, was the marriage of John Endecott to Elizabeth Gibson on the 18th of August 1630, in the performance of which ceremony he was assisted by the Rev. John Wilson. Elizabeth Gibson was formerly of Cambridge, England, and probably came over with Governor Winthrop, and while this marriage appears to have been a happy one there was a great disparity of age between them as he was twenty-five or twenty-six years older than his wife, for on April 13, 1674 in a suit of *Sanford v Putnam*, she deposed that she was then about the age of sixty years, which would indicate that she was born about 1614; so that at the time of her marriage she was only sixteen, while Endecott was about forty-one. By this marriage there were two children, both sons, John Endecott, Jr., born about 1632, and Dr. Zerubbabel Endecott, born about 1635. John Endecott, Jr., married Elizabeth Houchins and died in 1667 without issue. Dr. Zerubbabel Endecott's first wife was Mary Smith, by whom he had thirteen children, from whom all of the present members of the Endecott family are descended. His first wife died in 1677 and he then married Elizabeth, widow of the Reverend Antipas Newman of Wenham and a daughter of John Winthrop, by whom there were no children. He died in 1684. Governor Endecott and his descendants to the third generation spelled their names "Endecott" but thereafter it has been spelled as at present, "Endicott."

The following letter from Endecott to Governor Winthrop will give an idea of the condition of the plantation at this time, the difficulty of intercourse between different parts of it and also some evidence of the courage and pugnacity of Endecott.

Righte Worshipfulle,

I did expect to have been with you in person at the Court and to that end I put to sea yesterday, and was driven back again, the wind being stiffe against us. And there being



no canoe or boate at Sagust, I must have been constrained to go to Mistick, and thence about to Charles-town, which at this time, I durst not to be so bold, my bodie being at this present in an ill condition to wade, or take cole, and, therefore I desire you to pardon me. Though otherwise, I could not desire it by reason of many occasions and businesses. There are at Mr. Hewson's plantation five or six kine verie ill, and in great danger, I fear they will hardly escape it, whereof twoe are mine and all I have; which are worse than any of the rest. I left mine there this winter to do Mr. Skelton a pleasure to keep his for him herein Salem, that he might have the benefit of their milk. And I understand by Wincoll that they have been ill tended, and he saith almost starved. Besides they have fed on acorns, and they cannot digest them, for they vomitt exceedingly and are so bound in their bodies, that he is fain to rake them, and use his skill to maintain life in them. I have willed him to bee there till he can bring them to some health again if possible. And I have given him malt, to make mashies of licoris, and annisseedes, and long pepper, and such other things as I had, to drench them. I could wish when Manning hath recovered his strength that you would free him, for he will never do you or Mr. Hewson service, for when he is well, he was as negligent as the worst of them.

Mr. Skelton, myselfe and the rest of the Congregation desire to be thankful to God and yourselfe, for your benevolence to Mr. Haughton's child. The Lord restore it to you. I have prevailed with much adoe with Sir Richard for an old debt here, which he thought was desperate, to contribute it, which I hope I shall make good for the child. I think Mr. Skelton has written to you whom he thinks stands most in neede of contribution of such provisions as you will be pleased to give amongst us, of that which was sent over. The eel-pots you sent for me are made, which I had in my boate, hoping to have brought them with mee. I caused him to make but two for the present; if you like them and his prices (for he worketh for himselfe) you shall have as many as you desire. He selleth them for four shillings apiece. Sir, I desired the rather to have bene at Court, because I heare I am much complained of by Goodman Dexter for striking him. I acknowledge I was too rash in strikeing him, understanding since, it is not lawfull for a justice of peace to strike. But if you had seene the manner of his carriadge, with such daring of mee, with his arms akimbo,

etc. It would have provoked a very patient man. But I will write noe more of it, but leave it, till we speak before you face to face. Onely thus farre further, that he hath given out that if I had a purse he would make mee empty it, and if hee cannot have justice here, hee will do wonders in England, and if hee cannot prevail there, hee will try it out with mee here at blowes. Sir, I desire that you will take all into consideration. If it were lawful to try it out at blowes, and hee a fit man for mee to deal with, then you should not hear mee complain—but I hope the Lord hath brought me off from that course.

I thought good further to write what my judgment is for the dismissing of the Court till corne be sett. It will hinder us that are farre off exceedingly, and further you there. Men's labour is precious here in corne setting time, the plantation being yet so weak. I will be with you the Lord assisting me, as soon as conveniently I can. In the meanwhile I comitt you to his protection and safe guard that never fails his children, and rest,

Your unfeigned loving friend to command,

John Endecott.

Salem, 12th April 1631.

On May 3, 1631 the Court of which Endecott was acting at the time as one of the judges, empanelled a jury to inquire concerning an act of assault complained of by Thomas Dexter against John Endecott, and the jury found for the plaintiff, assessing damages against Endecott in the sum of forty shillings. Dexter was one of the original settlers of Lynn and is said to have bought Nahant from an Indian by the name of Black William for a suit of clothes, which occasioned the town an expensive and troublesome law suit in 1657. His general deportment was overbearing and quarrelsome.

It appears that on March 4, 1632, the court ordered that Dexter should be set in the bilbowes, disfranchised and fined forty shillings for speaking reproachful and seditious words against the government herein established and finding fault with the divers acts of the court. On July 3, 1632, Dexter was bound to his good behaviour until the next General Court and fined for his misdemeanors and insolent carriage and speeches to Simon Bradstreet at his own house.



## ENDECOTT'S ATTITUDE IN RELIGIOUS MATTERS

After the death of Mr. Higginson the Salem church heard of Roger Williams, who was said to be a man of great ability. They invited him to settle with them as teacher with Mr. Skelton. He accepted the call, but at this point Governor Winthrop and the Assistants interfered and wrote to Endecott in April as the one principally concerned in his possible settlement, that as Mr. Williams had refused to join with the congregation in Boston for various reasons and especially because they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having had communion with the Church of England while they lived there, they hoped he would not be received. This protest held up his ordination in Salem, and he then went to Plymouth where he remained as an assistant to the Reverend Mr. Smith for two years. Roger Williams returned to Salem in November, 1633, and then became assistant to Mr. Skelton, who died the following year and whose wife had died in 1631. By his death Endecott lost one who had been his tried friend and spiritual adviser both in England and in Massachusetts.

The Court of Assistants came into possession of a treatise written by Williams questioning the right of the king to grant the country to the settlers without their first obtaining it from the Indians, also making many discourteous remarks relative to the king, which the colonists were fearful might reach the ears of his majesty, whereupon Governor Winthrop wrote to Endecott asking him to exert his influence with his friend Roger Williams to get him to retract his statements, to which Endecott returned a modest and discreet answer.

Soon Williams again began his disturbance at Salem, attacking the right of the colonists to their land, denying the power of the magistrates to administer an oath to an unregenerate man as they would thereby have religious communion with a wicked person, and as the Salem church would not refuse to have communication and conferences with other New England churches, he declined to act longer as the pastor of the Salem church for he claimed that such conferences with other churches was

anti-Christian. He also would neither pray nor give thanks at meals with his own wife or family because they attended Church. The General Court being afraid he would get the colony into trouble with the home government determined to arrest him and send him back to England, notice of which coming to Williams' knowledge he escaped in January, 1636, to the territory of the Narragansetts, where he subsequently founded Rhode Island. During all this time Endecott was his friend, although he did not go so far as to join him in many of his extreme and radical views.

In September, 1634, the colony was thrown into consternation by the news that the king had granted to two archbishops of the Church of England and to ten others of the council, authority to regulate the plantations in New England; to establish and maintain the Episcopal Church there; to recall its Charter; remove and appoint its Governors; make its laws; hear and decide all legal cases and inflict punishments, even death itself. It was also believed that a new royal governor was secretly on his way to Massachusetts. Such was the universal anxiety awakened by this news that the General Court in January, 1635, unanimously agreed that if such a governor should come the Colonists ought by force of arms to resist his authority and maintain their rights.

Orders were adopted for the erection of fortifications on Castle Island, Boston Harbor and at Charlestown and Dorchester. Captains were authorized to train unskilled men so often as they pleased. Dudley, Winthrop, Haines, Humphrey and Endecott were appointed "to consult, direct and give command for the managing and ordering of any war which might befall for the space of a year next ensuing and till further order should be taken therein." Arrangements were made for the collection and custody of arms and ammunition and in order to obtain a supply of musket balls they were made legal tender for all debts at the rate of a farthing apiece.

Craddock sent a copy of the order which had been served on him requiring a return of the charter to England, and the Assistants laid it on the table and declined to act without authority from the General Court. Judg-



ment declaring the Charter forfeited was rendered in England against Sir Henry Roswell and the others of the original patentees, but the General Court disregarded the decree and fortunately for the colony, the government of Charles I was too much concerned with troubles at home to pay much attention to the resistance in Massachusetts. It is very evident, however, that if the English government had persisted in carrying out its demands that resistance to the crown would have begun more than a century before the Revolution.

#### THE RED CROSS INCIDENT

The excitement occasioned by these attacks upon the rights and privileges of Massachusetts caused Endecott to fear that all of their great sacrifices were to be in vain, and his indignation was aroused. With his sword he cut the red cross from the king's colors which belonged to the Salem military company. The act is generally believed to have been instigated by his minister, Roger Williams. The colonists feared that this bold and daring act would be considered not only an insult to the Church of England but to the king himself and they feared that unless some rebuke was administered to Endecott that his act would call down upon their heads the vengeance of the British authorities. A warrant was therefore issued to Richard Davenport, the ensign and color bearer of the company, directing him to bring the mutilated colors with him to the next Court. A meeting of all the clergymen of the colony, except Mr. Ward of Ipswich, convened at Boston at the request of the governor and assistants to consider the matter and Winthrop says that there were two questions discussed, "first: what ought we to do if a general governor should be sent out of England. Second, whether it be lawful for us to carry the cross in our banner. To the first question they all agreed that if a general governor were sent we ought not to accept him but defend our lawful possession (if we are able) otherwise to avoid or protract." For the matter of the cross they were divided and so deferred it to another meeting. The General Court referred the matter to a committee which made the following report:—

"That Endecott had acted in this matter without due authority, that while suspecting such a sign as a mark of idolatry, he should have made exertion for its disuse in other plantations, that he had impliedly charged his associate magistrates with abetting false religion and had exposed the colony to the still greater displeasure of the government of England." It therefore proposed that he be admonished and disqualified from holding public office for one year but at the same time recommended him to charitable consideration; "that he did it out of tenderness of conscience and not of any evil intention." State politics rendered it necessary for him to be punished in order to appease the resentment of the court party in London, for such a seeming attack on royal authority, but for this there is reason to believe that he would have received applause from the Puritan Colonists rather than blame. It is interesting to note that the matter of the preparation of colors for the troops was referred to the military commissioners, of whom Endecott was one, and at the next General Court they reported establishing uniform colors for all the military companies, which colors left out the cross concerning which there had been so much commotion. Endecott's open defiance of the royalty of England would have no doubt cost him his life had it not been for the more serious troubles which were besetting the unfortunate King Charles I. As a consequence of this decision Endecott was left off the Board of Assistants for a year, at the end of which time he was promptly re-elected. The sword, a plain, unornamented rapier, with which this deed was said to have been done, has been preserved and is now in the possession of one of the family.

In 1635 Marblehead was set off as a plantation but the inhabitants of Salem filed a petition in the General Court in which they claimed that they owned certain land at Marblehead Neck. They were refused a hearing upon the ground that they had neglected to consult the Governor and Assistants concerning the selection of Roger Williams as their pastor. Endecott and the people of Salem were aggrieved as they felt that this had nothing whatever to do with the merits of their claim. They



thereupon sent letters from the Salem Church to various other churches asking them to confer with their representatives in the General Court and to persuade them to consider the merits of Salem's claim. At the session of the General Court on the second of September, 1635, the deputies from Salem were sent home with instructions to "fetch satisfaction for their letters sent to the several churches wherein they have exceedingly reproached and villified the magistrates and deputies of the General Court or else the arguments of those who defend the same with the subscription of their names." Endecott was called before the court to answer for the town and defended the act of the Salem Church as regular and just, which displeased the General Court and it was voted by a general erection of hands "That Mr. Endecott should be committed for his contempt in protesting against the proceedings of the Court and upon his submission and full acknowledgment of his offence, he was dismissed."

The deputies from Salem were also forbidden to take their seats and the town was disfranchised until such time as a majority of its freemen should disclaim the letters. Cotton said that the Court viewed the act in the light of treason.

The General Court, however, in March, 1636, decided that it had been proved that Marblehead Neck belonged to Salem. Later, in May, 1636, at a Salem town meeting, the question was considered of dividing Marblehead Neck into lots, and a portion of the land, it appears from Mr. Endecott's argument, had been reserved for the erection of a college. This was six months before the General Court in October voted four hundred pounds towards the establishment of the college, which two years later became Harvard College on the death of the Reverend John Harvard, who bequeathed to it one-half of his fortune of £779 17s. 2p. It is interesting to note that the reason Cambridge was selected was because, according to Shepard, the place had been kept clear from the opinions of Ann Hutchinson.

After the departure of Roger Williams, the Salem church was without a settled pastor until December, 1636, when the Reverend Hugh Peter, commonly spoken of

Hugh Peters, was ordained. He was a most brilliant man, but of rather melancholy disposition and in poor health. His wife died in 1637 and in 1639 he married Mrs. Deliverance Sheffield. For the year prior to her marriage to him she apparently was keeping him in a very uncertain frame of mind, for in 1638 Endecott wrote to Governor Winthrop: "I cannot but acquaint you with my thoughts concerning Mr. Peter, since hee receaved a letter from Mrs. Sheffield, which was yesterday in the eveninge after the fast; she seeming in her letter to abate of her affections towards him and dislikinge to come to Salem uppon such terms as hee had written. I finde that shee begins now to play her parte, and if I mistake not, you will see him as greatly in loue with her (if shee will hold a little) as euer shee was with him; but hee conceals it what hee can as yett. The begininge of the next weeke youe will hear further from him."

Later Peter wrote to Governor Winthrop:—"I do not know whether Mrs. Sh. haue sett mee at liberty or not; my conclusion is, that if you find I cannot make an honorable retreat then I shall desire to advance." She eventually married him, however, on January 3, 1639. About 1640, after the birth of their only child, Mrs. Peters became of unsound mind, which deprived him of her society for twenty years.

When the king granted to the parliament additional authority some thought it would be a fine idea for the colony to send representatives to parliament to look after their interest and to try to get further favors. Governor Winthrop wrote to the Salem Church asking them to spare their pastor as one of the delegates for this mission, but Endecott opposed it at church meeting, saying; "It would be conceived we sent them begging"—for which he was viciously attacked by John Humphrey, and with such bitterness as to give great offence. The church was not willing to let their pastor go, nor to give a plain denial to the magistrates, and wrote an answer by way of excuse. Later the application was again renewed and finally the Salem church yielded and permitted Hugh Peter to go to England, where he was extremely prominent under Cromwell, both as preacher, chaplain and mili-



tary leader. Upon the restoration he was arrested and executed, so that it would evidently have been well for the Salem pastor if Endecott had been finally successful in his opposition.

#### IN COMMAND AGAINST THE INDIANS

While Endecott was so repeatedly in controversies of various kinds, he lost none of the public's confidence, as all knew the energy of his character and the integrity of his motives. In 1636, John Oldham had been murdered by the Block Island Indians while on a trading voyage, and Governor Vane of Massachusetts sent an expedition in three vessels of ninety men and four captains and the whole under command of Endecott. They sailed on the 24th of August and arrived at Block Island before the end of the month, but found some difficulty in landing on account of the surf. They were met by about forty Indians who shot off their arrows at them and fled, but the men being all armed with corslets only one was slightly wounded in the neck. They found two plantations and about sixty wigwams. After searching two days unsuccessfully for the Indians they burnt their wigwams, staved their canoes and left the island. They then went to the mouth of the Connecticut to demand of the Pequots, the most warlike tribe of the Indians, the murderers of Captain Stone of the Plymouth Colony. Here they landed with great difficulty, the shore being high, rugged rock, and they were completely in the power of the Indians, who, however, neglected to use their advantage. Messengers passed back and forth explaining why their chiefs did not appear and finally the Indians fled, shooting at the men from the thicket but without harming any of them. Endecott's men then burned the Indian village and returned to their vessels. On the following day they landed on the west side of the river, meeting more of the enemy. Here they also burned their wigwams and destroyed their canoes. Being unable to find the Indians who were hiding in the thickets, they finally abandoned their search and returned to Boston, having been away a little less than a month. It appears that during the skirmishes they had killed thirteen of

the Pequots and wounded forty. While this expedition was not especially successful as the Indians persisted in hiding in the underbrush and thickets where they could not be fought, Endecott was apparently faced with the alternative of either returning home without accomplishing anything or of doing what damage he could. He chose the latter course, which undoubtedly aroused the Pequots to still further hostility and the following year another expedition in command of Captain Mason almost totally wiped out the tribe.

#### GRANT OF THE ORCHARD FARM

On the third of July, 1632, the Court of Assistants granted to Endecott three hundred acres of land called by a translation from its Indian name, "Birchwood," afterwards known as the Orchard Farm. This is the well known Endecott farm in Danvers which has remained in the family until the present time. The General Court described it as bounded on the South by Cow House River, on the North by the Duck River, on the East by a river leading up to these rivers and called Woolston's River. It was some distance from the place which was afterwards selected for the seat of town government, yet it was the center of population and very easy of access by water. On this farm he lived in a sort of feudal style surrounded by his servants and retainers and on a hill overlooking the country erected his mansion house. In front of it on a southern slope of the hill he planted his far-famed orchard. His usual method of transporting himself and family was at first by water and he was often visited by his friends in this way. The inlet before the mansion house had nothing to interrupt it, the passage being open to the bay, and the estate must have been beautifully located as the shores on either side were thickly clothed with woods. From the governor's mansion house there was a gentle descent to the inlet in which he kept his shallop. Tradition says that on the easterly side of the orchard and garden was a walk from the house to the landing place with plum trees overrun with grape vines on each side of it, and so thick with foliage in its season that a person might walk in this avenue unob-



served. Near the landing place was a spring of water overshadowed with willows, clear and placid, from which the family was supplied with this cool and refreshing beverage.

While Endecott was not able to spend all of his time at his country home because of his public duties, yet he remained there as much as possible, retiring to this secluded spot for the quiet enjoyment and peaceful cultivation of his farm. The extent of which he devoted himself to the growing of trees is indicated by the fact that in 1648 he sold five hundred apple trees of three years' growth, to William Trask for 250 acres of land; in other words two small apple trees were of equal value to one acre of land. It was at this Orchard Farm that he introduced for medicinal purposes as well as an ornament to his garden, the white weed or field daisy, which while a thing of beauty to city visitors has certainly been a curse to the farmer. For generations this was known in Essex County as "Endecott weed."

In 1639 he was granted 550 acres on the Ipswich River, most of which is now in Topsfield. It was concerning this farm that in 1648 Winthrop wrote to his son that "Mr. Endecott hath found a copper mine in his own ground. Mr. Leader hath tried it." The find was of such importance that Endecott at once petitioned the General Court to establish the bounds of the 550 acre lot, but it was not until 1658 that the bounds were finally established. Endecott's attempt at mining copper was the earliest record of such mining in North America by Europeans although undoubtedly copper had been mined by the Indians in various places.

In 1651 Endecott petitioned for the grant of a wood lot in the neighborhood of the copper mine in order that he might work it with greater ease, and in his petition he states that he had been already to some charge for finding and melting copper ore and was still in prosecution of bringing it to perfection by sending to Sweden and Germany for persons well skilled in the art to assist him. He was accordingly awarded three hundred acres of wood land near Blind Hole where he intended to set up his works, on condition that he set them up within

seven years. There is some doubt as to whether these three hundred acres were ever really assigned to him. Richard Leader of the Lynn Iron Works was arraigned in 1651 for reproaching Governor Endecott, the court and the church in Lynn. In their first excitement the court fined him two hundred pounds, which was later reduced to fifty pounds, and then later, he making acknowledgment, the fine was remitted. Whether this dispute with Endecott was concerning the copper mine is uncertain but at any rate the operation of the mine by Endecott was never sufficiently lucrative to be continued and was finally abandoned. It was said to have been near the properties now owned by Mr. Duncan Phillips and Mr. Thomas Sanders.

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In 1655 Endecott was granted Catta Island, of about two acres off Marblehead Harbor, which later became Cat Island and is now known as Children's Island. In 1658 there was an award to John Endecott "for his great service" of one fourth of Block Island, which he had visited in his Indian campaign. This he sold in 1660 to John Alcock. He also owned various other farms and properties, including Broad Fields, so called, lying to the south of Broad Street cemetery and between it and the South River. His will gave the Orchard Farm to his son Zerubabel and most of his remaining property was given to his widow for life and then to the sons, the older son John having a double portion, but because by his will he stated that any property given to his two sons should pass to the longer liver of them unless there were children, his will was contested by the older son, John, Jr., probably through the influence of his wife, as her father, Jeremiah Houchin, appeared for the contestant and showed that as John Endecott, Jr., had no children and was in poor health his wife would have nothing upon his decease. After some litigation the General Court allowed the will but directed that John's wife should enjoy for her life any property in which her husband was to have a life estate under the will of his father. It was further directed that if the personal effects given to the Governor's widow should turn out to be worth more than eighty pounds that the balance should be divided between



the two sons, the older son having a double portion. John Endecott, Jr., willed all of his property to his wife, who he said "hath carryed herself a lovinge, helpfule and painefull wife unto me." Zerrubabel divided most of the Endecott property after the death of his widow among his five sons and five daughters, who grew up to maturity.

From the first, Endecott had always treated the neighboring Indians with the greatest consideration, following his instructions from the company that "if any of the salvages pretend right of inheritance to all or any part of the lands granted in our patent, we pray you endeavour to purchase their title that we may avoid the least scruple of intrusion." The Rev. John Higginson said that when he came over with his father in 1629 the Indian Village was on the North side of North River, near "Simonds'." The depositions of Richard Brackenbury and Humphrey Woodbury already referred to, and the deposition of William Dixey especially mention the great kindness of the Salem settlers to the neighboring Indians, especially those of the Agawam tribe, many times protecting them from the attacks of Indian enemies.

In 1660 John Endecott, Jr., desired that the court confirm a deed of land given him by "Old William," an Indian. The court thought it not suitable for them to take such power unto themselves. They remarked, however; "Considering the many kindnesses that were shown to the Indians by our honored Governor (Endecott) in the infancy of these plantations for pacifying the Indians, tending to the common good of the first planters in consideration whereof the Indians were moved to such a gratuity unto his son, we do hereby judge meet to give the petitioner four hundred acres of land."

In 1643 a pinnacle of about thirty tons was blown up near Castle Island in Boston Harbor and five men were killed and three wounded, to which Endecott makes reference in a letter to Governor Winthrop— "I heare you have great sights upon the water, seen between the Castle and the towne, men walking on the water in the night, ever since the shippe was blown up; or fire in the shape of men there are verie few do believe it, yet here is a

great report to it, brought from thence the last day of the week." He does not expressly say whether he believed in these sights or not but it manifests the general superstition of the times.

#### HIS LATER SERVICE AS GOVERNOR

In 1636 it was provided that certain councillors should be elected for life and Winthrop, Endecott and Dudley were thus honored but such action was unpopular and three years later their authority was cut down and it was provided that they should not have any standing as magistrates unless they were also chosen at the annual election.

In 1645 Endecott was elected Sergeant-Major-General in Massachusetts, the highest military office in the colony. He had previously held a commission of colonel in the first regiment formed in Salem, Saugus, Ipswich and Newbury in 1636. In 1646-1649 he was a Major-General; and in 1646-7-8 he was a Commissioner, and in 1658 President of the United Colonies of New England which included Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven. From 1641 to 1643 he was Deputy Governor under Governors Bellingham and Winthrop. In 1644 Endecott was elected governor and John Winthrop Deputy Governor.

After the meeting of the long parliament in England the Puritans became so strong at home that emigration almost entirely ceased, and while during the ten years after Winthrop arrived up to 1640 about 21,000 English had emigrated in nearly three hundred vessels and at a cost of approximately Two Hundred Thousand pounds sterling, during the next century and a quarter thereafter it is believed that the tide of emigration turned back towards England for, according to Hutchinson, "more had gone from hence to England than had come from thence hither." Nor was there any other emigration of consequence until Boston was almost two hundred years old.

On the death of Governor Winthrop in 1649 Endecott was again chosen Governor, to which office he was annually re-elected until the time of his death in 1665, with



the exception of the years 1650 and 1654 when he held the office of Deputy Governor under Dudley and Bellingham, respectively.

The years of his governorship were eventful years in the history of the colony as well as of the mother country, for the execution of Charles I, the succession of Cromwell and the restoration of Charles II took place while he was at the helm of public affairs, and the difficulties of his office were very great. His constant re-election showed that his people regarded him as the man best qualified to act as governor during this troublesome period. Had he possessed less integrity or courage or had he been of a vacillating mind, the consequences might have been disastrous. The colony with great wisdom acknowledged allegiance to Cromwell and to the parliament only so far as was necessary to keep up appearances and avoid giving offence, but no further, and they were careful to indulge in no marks of disrespect to the memory of the late king.

After Cromwell had conquered Ireland he undertook to devise a scheme of keeping its subjects in subjection with as little expense to the English treasury as possible, and bethought himself of the Puritans across the water who had proved their courage by the strictest tests. He accordingly suggested that the New England Puritans emigrate to Ireland, but his suggestion was not favorably received because Endecott, to whom it was addressed, believed that the people were much better off where they were; yet he was desirous of not giving any offence to Cromwell and therefore wrote him in behalf of the General Court that "while they would not hinder any families or persons removing to any parts of the world where God called them but that they were enjoying health, plenty, peace, the liberty and ordinances of the gospel and an opportunity for spreading the knowledge of it among savages; and that, content with these blessings, they had no desire to change their abode."

Under Endecott's administration in 1652 a mint was established for the coining of shillings, sixpence and three-pence. No other of the American colonies ever presumed to coin metal into money. It was, however, passed over

by Cromwell and parliament and continued after the restoration for more than twenty years, although clearly against the law of England.

In 1655 Endecott removed from Salem to Boston upon the request of the General Court, that he might do so "if his own necessary occasions would permit." Although the reasonableness of this request must have been apparent to him because of the great difficulty and delay occasioned by going from Salem to Boston in those days, yet he severed his connection with Salem with the greatest regret. His residence in Boston was in what is now known as Pemberton Square. Although Endecott moved to Boston in 1655 he and Mrs. Endecott did not dissolve their connection with the Salem Church until November, 1664, but a few months before his death.

#### HIS ANTAGONISM TO BAPTISTS AND QUAKERS

In 1644 a law was passed punishing by banishment anyone who should openly or secretly speak against the orthodox doctrine regarding baptism, and three Baptists, John Clark, Obadiah Holmes and John Crandall, coming from Rhode Island to visit a member of their Church in Lynn, were arrested. Clark was fined twenty pounds, Holmes thirty pounds and Crandall five pounds, in default of which they were to be whipped. Clark having asked by what law he was punished, the penalty not being that prescribed by the ordinance of 1644, relates that Endecott "stept up to us and told us that we had denied Infants Baptism, and being somewhat transported broke forth, and told me I had deserved death and said he would not have such trash brought into this jurisdiction." Crandall was released on bail and someone paid Clark's fine, but Holmes having refused to pay or allow anyone else to do so for him, was whipped with thirty strokes with a three corded whip on his bare back.

The trouble with the Baptists was of slight consequence compared with that which so shortly followed with the Quakers, whose ideas and acts were such as to be especially repugnant to the leaders in Massachusetts. Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, the first two Quakers to arrive in Boston, came from Barbadoes in July, 1656.



Endecott being away at the time, Deputy Governor Bellingham arrested them and kept them confined in jail for four or five weeks and then shipped them back to Barbadoes. A few days after their departure eight more Quakers arrived from London and were accorded similar treatment, Endecott saying to them, "Take heed you break not our Ecclesiastical Laws for then ye are sure to stretch by a halter." After some weeks of confinement they also were shipped back to England. The Massachusetts General Court passed a law fining the Master of any ship who should bring known Quakers to Massachusetts one hundred pounds and directing that the Quakers should be committed to the House of Correction, severely whipped, kept constantly at work and not permitted to speak to anyone. The following year a band of Quakers went to Rhode Island. Massachusetts authorities remonstrated, to which the Rhode Island people replied with great shrewdness that the Quakers did not desire to remain at any place where they were not opposed by the people, "but with all patience and meekness are suffered to say over their pretended revelations and admonitions, nor are they like or able to gain many hereto their way; surely we find that they delight to be persecuted by civill powers, and when they are soe, they are like to gain more adherents by the consent of their patient sufferings, than by consent to their pernicious sayings; and yet we conceive, that their doctrines tend to very absolute cuttinge downe and overturninge relations and civill government among men, if generally received."

The Rhode Islanders were better judges of human nature than those from Massachusetts because as it turned out the Quakers were not anxious to stay in Rhode Island, for they there met with no opposition, but they were extremely desirous of getting a foothold in Massachusetts where their coming was violently opposed. The Massachusetts authorities ordered them banished and to make doubly sure that they would stay away, provided that if they returned after banishment they should suffer death, believing fully that this terrible penalty would keep them from returning. Endecott begged the Quakers to

keep away, saying earnestly that he did not desire their death. They did not know the people with whom they had to contend, for stubborn and persistent as were the Puritans, the Quakers were even more insistent in having their own way. The government was fighting an unequal battle against people who either because of religious emotion or conscientiousness did not fear death. In speaking of Quakers we only think of the quiet and non-resistant people who have been so known in recent years, but those of the seventeenth century were fighters, and the authorities did not know the measure of Quaker pertinacity, for they arose in congregations to denounce the clergy and the methods of their worship and entered courts to attack the magistrates. Thomas Newhouse interrupted the service at the Old South Meeting House by smashing two glass bottles exclaiming "Thus will the Lord break you all in pieces." They hooted at the Governor as he walked the street. One woman appeared on the streets in a gown made of sack cloth. Another exhibited herself with her face smeared with grease and lamp black. Deborah Wilson of Salem and Lydia Wardell of Newbury went through the streets of their towns naked, to indicate their disregard of Puritan law. They disclaimed all allegiance to any government not in the charge of men of their own principles. Many Quakers were whipped, imprisoned or banished, one branded, three had their right ears cut off, and four were put to death.

The sufferings and death of these people created a strong public sentiment in their favor, and in the trial of Christison, who had been banished and threatened with death if he returned, which he did, nevertheless, there was such division among the magistrates that there was great doubt whether they would vote the death penalty. Endecott pounded the table and attacked the other magistrates for what he thought was their lack of courage, saying "I could find it in my heart to go home (meaning to England). You that will not consent, record it," as he put the question a second time to vote. "I thank God I am not afraid to give judgment"; and promptly sentenced Christison to death, but the sentence was never executed. Soon after an order was received from King



Charles, dated September 9, 1661, directing that there should be no further proceeding against the Quakers and that such as were under charges should be sent to England for trial. The message was borne by Samuel Shattuck, a banished Massachusetts Quaker. Upon reading the message Endecott said, "We shall obey his Majesty's command." All that were imprisoned were released. For this act Charles II has always received great credit, yet three years afterwards he wrote to Governor Endecott; "We can not be understood to direct, or wish that *any* indulgence should be granted to persons commonly called Quakers whose principles being inconsistent with *any kind* of government, we have found it necessary, with the advice of our Parliament, to make a sharp law against them here, and we are content that you do the like there."

#### ORDERED TO PURSUE THE REGICIDES

Charles II sent to Endecott a warrant for the arrest of Colonels Walley and Goffe on the ground that they were regicides and concerned in the execution of his father. Endecott, to whom it was transmitted, could do no less than appear to interest himself in the King's behalf, which he could do with less reluctance because he knew there was small likelihood that his order for their apprehension would be carried out. Two young men recently come from England, Thomas Kellond and Thomas Kirk, received from him a commission to prosecute the search in Massachusetts. That they were zealous Royalists gave evidence to the home government that the search would be made in good faith, but as they were strangers, unacquainted with the roads and with the habits of the country and betrayed themselves by their deportment wherever they went in New England, assured Endecott that they would make their quest in vain. In this Endecott was not mistaken because neither Walley or Goffe were ever apprehended and both lived for many years under assumed names.

In 1660 Charles II was restored to the crown and in 1661 Endecott, fearing that it would not be safe to longer delay proclaiming him King, called the General Court together for the purpose and wrote to the Earl of Clar-

endon, at that time Lord High Chancellor, explaining his efforts to capture Colonels Walley and Goffe, and stated that the King had been proclaimed "by our secretary in the best form we were capable of to the great rejoicing of the people, expressed in their loud acclamations; 'God save the King..'"—which was no sooner ended, but a troop of horse, four foot companies, then in arms, expressed their joy in their peals; our forts and all our shippes . . . and our Castle . . . thundered out their joy."

In 1664 Charles II sent a couple of ships of war to Boston with about four hundred troops, under Colonel Richard Nichols, together with three commissioners to look after his affairs in the new world. Colonel Nichols took his ships to New Amsterdam and captured that important town. He then returned to Boston where the Commissioners held meetings. The charter and the duplicate seemed to be in danger and were given into the keeping of four trusty persons to be disposed of by them as the safety of the colony required, it being without doubt their intention to preserve the charter at all hazards, but as Endecott and the magistrates handled the matter with great shrewdness months were fretted away to no purpose. Presently the Dutch beginning war against England the matter was forgotten and the charter was saved for a number of years more.

#### LAST YEARS

In 1664 the King's secretary was instructed to say that as "Mr. Endecott is not a person well affected towards his Majestie's person and government, his Majestie would take it well if the people would leave him out from the place of Governor." It is possible that this request would have been entirely disregarded, but the question did not come to an issue because, in the quaint language of the day we are told, that, "Old age and the infirmities thereof coming upon him, he fell asleep in the Lord on the 15th of March 1665, at the age of 77, and was with great honor and solemnity interred in Boston on the 23rd of the same month."

The record of the General Court of May 25, 1665, is



as follows: "The Court judgeth it meete in remembrance of the good service of the late John Endecot, Esqr. Gounor, and the condition of his relict, to order the Treasurer of the country to discharge the charge of wine, cakes, toombe, and poudre expended on the late funerall of the late Gounor, & that Mrs. Endecot, his relict, be paid and satisfied out of the country treasury one hundred and sixty pounds by equall proportions, by the Treasurer, in five yeares the whole; sixty pounds whereof was in consideration of hir expence of seventy pounds in mourning cloaths for himself, children and family." In 1670 it appearing that the property of Governor Endecott's widow was not sufficient for her support, her annuity of thirty pounds was continued during her widowhood.

While it is true that Endecott had accumulated considerable real estate, most of it was unproductive, and he gave so much of his time to public affairs that his income must have been very limited, for when he was governor his salary was only one hundred pounds a year. Hull's diary, written at the time of his death, says:

"Our honored Governor, Mr. John Endicott, departed this life;—a man of pious and zealous spirit, who had very faithfully endeavored the suppression of a pestilent generation, the troublers of our peace, civil and ecclesiastical, called Quakers. He died poor, as most of our rulers do, having more attended the public than their own private interests."

His death was greatly lamented and the fact that he had served as Governor sixteen years in all, longer than any other person who ever held that office in Massachusetts, and five years as Deputy Governor, shows the high esteem in which he was held by the people of his own time. He had been longer on the soil than any other important person, coming as an advance guard of the great Puritan migration and enduring the famine and sickness of the first few winters which so devastated the early inhabitants. Hired in England to begin the plantation, he by his energy and efficiency as well as his business judgment, so laid the foundations that he lived to govern a strong and successful colony.

The period of Endecott's governorship after the death

of Winthrop were years of great growth, prosperity and development for Massachusetts, during which time her trade and population increased and her boundaries were extended to include parts of what are now Rhode Island, New Hampshire and substantially the whole of the State of Maine. Endecott denied the right of Parliament to meddle with the charter, and during Cromwell's administration Massachusetts practically maintained the relations of an independent state. His dealings with Charles II were also handled with great tact, and Palfrey well says: "This energetic pioneer and soldier, trained as he had been by an instructive experience and companionship of more than twenty years, was recognized as the leader required for those stirring times and he was not discharged from the chief magistracy often enough to suggest that it was not intended to be vested for life."

Although he may have been guilty of occasional imprudences, no one ever accused him of deception or cowardice or of managing public affairs to his own private gain. The difficulties of the last part of his public career were great, and while he was unquestionably wrong in his treatment of the Baptists and the Quakers, yet his viewpoint was of the seventeenth century, with that dread of religious dissension which was shared by all those in authority during the age in which he lived, for in those days religious disputes often led to political revolutions. As the governor approached the close of his life how proud must have been his reflections and how his heart must have throbbed with pleasure as he looked back remembering the day of his first landing in Naumkeag with his little band of Puritans, and then viewed with satisfaction the great colony which had arisen upon the foundation of the little settlement which he had established.

He, more than any other leader, typifies Puritanism, and stern and austere though he may have been, yet in those days a strong hand was needed to control the wheel of state. The people knew that under Endecott their affairs would be managed with no other object in view than what he honestly believed was best for their welfare and John Endecott is entitled to be gratefully remembered by the people of Massachusetts.





## LOCAL GOVERNMENT UNDER THE FIRST CHARTER.

BY HARRISON MERRILL DAVIS.

A free government, as commonly understood, is one in which the people make the laws through their elected representatives.

The government of Massachusetts under the first charter was not a free government. To call it a theocratic oligarchy, on the other hand, is not to describe it with accuracy, but to give it a bad name.

It is true that the Freemen re-elected from year to year practically the same group of leaders to be their Magistrates, that is, the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Assistants, but those leaders were kept in office solely because of the personal influence which their acknowledged character, orthodoxy, and ability secured to them.

The influence of the ministers was entirely unofficial: they had no political functions by law, but gave their advice when requested by the magistrates. Sometimes they did not wait to be consulted.

The government of Massachusetts by the chartered Company was very much like the government of a populous borough in England by its Mayor and Aldermen, or similar officials, chosen not by the inhabitants at large, but by some comparatively small and select body of burgesses or freemen incorporated by royal charter. In all such cases the corporation was not composed of all the inhabitants, but only of the larger or smaller group to which the charter had given the franchise of acting as a body corporate.

The first government organized in Massachusetts, which



derived its authority from the charter granted by King Charles the First in March, 1628, to Sir Henry Roswell and his associates, was that of Endecott at Salem. Beginning at the time when he received from England one of the duplicate originals of the Charter together with notice of his appointment as Governor of the Company's plantation, his administration continued until the coming of Winthrop in the summer of 1630. With the advent of the Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Company in person accompanied by some of the Assistants, and bringing with him the other copy of the Charter, all in accordance with the vote of the Freemen in General Court assembled, the transfer of the corporation to the place of its intended operations was accomplished. The original plan of ruling the colony from England through a local governor and council subordinate to the corporation, which should remain domiciled in the mother country, was thus superseded.

Whether or not the leaders from the first contemplated such a removal as possible or probable, it does not appear to have been either illegal or surreptitious. The charter does not specify that the corporate meetings and elections must be held in England, and the Crown lawyers many years afterwards construed the charter as having created a corporation "upon the place," that is to say, as one empowered to have its corporate home and perform its corporate acts in the territory over-seas which it had been chartered to colonize and rule.

The removal to Massachusetts was proposed by the Governor of the Company, Mathew Cradock, but I have not seen it stated whether or not the idea originated with him. A number of wealthy and influential members of the corporation had agreed to go as settlers to the new colony provided the whole organization should first by "order of Court" be permanently removed thither. The words "by order of court" do not refer, as some writers have assumed, to legal proceedings, but to a proper order, vote, or resolution of the Company's own court, which was a meeting of the members or Freemen, as they were called, duly assembled in General Court.

Opposition to the removal of the corporation to Massa-

chusetts and to the holding of future elections and meetings across the ocean might have been expected to come, not from the authorities, but from the Freemen of the Company, most of whom did not intend to become settlers, and many of whom had also invested their money in the enterprise. As a practical matter those who remained at home would not be able to attend future meetings of the General Court, nor vote, or be elected to office. It speaks well for their loyalty to the ideals and purposes of the leaders of the movement, and for their confidence in the ability and integrity of the few who were going to emigrate, that this radical departure met with general approval.

The number of the Freemen of the Company prior to the removal was a little over one hundred, and of these not over a dozen came to Massachusetts, so that at the first meetings of the General Court on this side of the ocean, the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Assistants included nearly all the Freemen who were able to be present at a General Court.

The admission of over one hundred new Freemen, which took place within a year after the coming of Winthrop, was perhaps not intended solely as a concession to the demands of the settlers; for as soon as it became evident that the colony would be composed of numerous small settlements or plantations widely scattered in a wilderness destitute of roads and bridges, those few men who were not only the governing body but were at the same time nearly all who could assemble as the General Court of the Company, must have felt the necessity for so enlarging the number of Freemen that there would be a group of them residing in each community to represent the corporation and to organize and administer local government.

The support of the ministry, the building and maintenance of meeting houses, roads and other common and public utilities, the keeping of the peace, the relief of the poor, the suppression of nuisances, the assessment of taxes for these local purposes, and the general oversight of the manners and morals of the people, could not prudently be left to the initiative and control of outsiders;



nor could they be conveniently administered by the General Court and the executive officers of the Company charged with the concerns of the colony as a whole.

The theory that the first settlements, of their own initiative, organized town governments of a popular character for the purpose of administering their local affairs, and that this development was at first tolerated and afterwards accepted by the authorities of the Colony, seems to me untenable. On the contrary, the General Court and the Assistants from the first treated the separate plantations as convenient administrative units, like the townships and parishes of England, on which to impose the obligation of providing for the local needs of the little communities, under the control of those of the inhabitants who were Freemen of the Company.

The Massachusetts Bay Company was a chartered corporation, the members of which, called the Freemen, had the sole and exclusive right to prescribe the qualifications of new members and the terms of admission to the Freedom of the Company. It has been called a mere trading company, and the corporate proceedings have been described as an attempt to wrest the charter from its original purpose and make it serve as the written constitution of a commonwealth. This view does not seem to me to be in accord with the facts or with seventeenth century political ideas. That the corporation was not a trading company is clear to anyone who takes the trouble to read the Charter through. Its purpose was to found a colony of Englishmen in the overseas dominions of the Crown. The only reference to trading that I can remember is the exemption from taxation for a period of years of goods imported from England or exported to England.

The corporation was made in effect the Lord Proprietor of its domain, with power to govern all subjects of the King and all other persons willing to bear allegiance to the King, whom the Company might invite or permit to settle within its jurisdiction. The organization of the corporation itself was prescribed in the charter. It was to have a Governor, a Deputy Governor, and a Council of eighteen Assistants, all elected by the Freemen of the Company annually at a meeting of the General Court.

But nothing was prescribed as to the form of government to be established by the Company for the inhabitants of its territory. The Company was left free to make such laws and to create such administrative and executive agencies as it saw fit, subject only to the limitations that the colonists were to have the civil rights of the King's subjects and that the laws must not be repugnant to the laws of England.

Charles was not a friend of the Puritans, and some writers have marvelled that he should have granted such powers to members of a despised denomination. It may have been that his advisers, because of the financial resources and respectable character of the promoters of the enterprise, welcomed this opportunity to make certain the colonization of New England by subjects of the King, as a bulwark against attempted colonization by other powers. That would have been a statesmanlike motive. It is quite probable also that the King was moved in part at least by financial reasons, and that he received a consideration from the promoters in coin of the realm. The Stuart kings, in their constant search for sources of revenue, made much use and abuse of the royal prerogative, and were constantly revoking and re-issuing charters of boroughs and cities, and granting new ones, generally for some consideration other than the King's "free grace and mere motion."

The idea of a written constitution, adopted by the people and deriving its force and validity from the consent of the governed, did not become general until long after the close of the seventeenth century. During the fifty odd years when Massachusetts was ruled by this chartered corporation, Englishmen were not free citizens but subjects of the King, and their civil rights and liberties were regarded either as founded on the custom and tradition of the common law or as derived from privileges and franchises expressly granted by the sovereign in Magna Charta or in some later charter.

The General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Company was from first to last an assembly of the Freemen or members of the corporation as provided in the charter. As the population increased and the towns grew more



numerous, more Freemen were admitted. It is said that record has been found of the names of about 2,500 Freemen in all, but of course by reason of deaths and of the many persons who went back to England or removed to other colonies, there were never as many as 2,500 Freemen at any one time, probably not as many as 2,000, even during the last years of the Company. It is estimated that the Freemen never exceeded one-fifth of the total number of adult men in the colony.

This appears to us like an unfair limitation of the franchise, especially as none but church-members were eligible as Freemen. But it probably did not seem strange or oppressive to the people of the colony, although here and there some individual may have objected to the requirement of church-membership as a qualification. It must be remembered that even church members had no right to demand admission as Freemen, and without doubt, almost any man of whom any considerable number of Freemen approved as a candidate for admission to their body, would be found to be a church member or able to become one. In the City of London, no one was qualified for admission as a Freeman who had not first been admitted a Freeman of one of the great London Companies. When we consider the kind of a commonwealth that the Puritans planned to establish in Massachusetts, it was obviously wise to restrict the Freedom of the Company to persons like-minded with the original associates. This policy evidently commended itself not only to the Assistants and the ministers, but also to the Freemen at large, for it could have been abandoned at any time by action of the General Court. And the policy cannot have been unpopular among the inhabitants who were not Freemen, for any serious discontent on the part of their neighbors, in the little towns where they lived, would have put such pressure upon the Freemen that they would not have been able to resist making a change.

It was soon found inconvenient for all the Freemen to leave their homes and assemble in General Court, and it was made lawful for the Freemen of every plantation to choose deputies to attend the General Court, with authority to deal on their behalf in the public affairs of the

Commonwealth wherein the Freemen had to do; the matter of election of Magistrates and other officers only excepted, wherein every Freeman was to give his own voice. And the number of deputies was afterwards limited by the following provision:

"Forasmuch, as through the blessing of God, the number of Towns are much increased, It is therefore ordered and by this Court enacted, That henceforth no town shall send more than two Deputies to the General Court, though the number of Freemen in any town be more than twenty. And that all towns which have not to the number of twenty Freemen shall send but one Deputy, & such towns as have not ten Freemen shall send none, but such Freemen shall vote with the next town in the choice of their Deputie or Deputies til this Court take further order."

The deputies were not chosen by the inhabitants of the town but by the Freemen who resided therein. The town was not considered as a body politic, and as such entitled to representation; it was the Freemen who lived in the town who were entitled under the Charter to their voice in the General Court and who were permitted to be represented by their deputies. This is confirmed by the fact that no deputy went to the General Court from any town where less than ten Freemen resided, but the Freemen in such a town joined with the Freemen of the adjoining town in choosing a deputy or deputies. Further confirmation is found in the fact that the number of deputies was not fixed in proportion to the number of the inhabitants of the town, but in proportion to the number of Freemen who happened to live there. Also the Freemen of any town were permitted to choose as their deputy any Freeman of the Company, residing in any part of the colony.

From 1630 to 1642 was the period when many new settlers were coming to the colony, and they very often came in groups or companies under the leadership of a minister. The General Court was kept busy locating new settlements, granting lands and fixing the boundaries of the new townships. They did not think of the towns as municipal corporations. The only municipal corporations that they knew anything about were the English boroughs,



which under charters from the Crown, or in some cases by immemorial prescription, had a form of local government free from the control of the County Justices of the Peace and other officials who administered local government throughout England, outside of these privileged areas. They had all come from one or the other of the thousands of parishes into which England was divided, and they were familiar with the civil and religious functions of the usual parish officers, the Churchwardens, the Overseers of the Poor, the Surveyors of Highways, and the Constables. Neither the parishes of England, nor the townships, into which some of the larger parishes were sub-divided, had been created by Act of Parliament or by royal charter. Their boundaries, their obligations, and the powers and duties of their officials, all owed their existence to tradition and immemorial custom, except as Parliament had from time to time imposed new obligations. Therefore the General Court, in dividing the settled area of the colony into townships and imposing upon town officers duties like those imposed upon parish officers in England, was not usurping the power to create corporations, but was merely adopting a machinery of local administration like that to which all the people had been accustomed in the mother country.

William Pynchon, one of the first group of Assistants or Magistrates, writes to Winthrop, in 1646, recommending that the laws of England be preserved and adhered to "except those that be contrary to God"—"for I remember," he writes, "at our first coming, as soon as ever the people were divided into several plantations, you did presently nominate a constable for each plantation as the most common officer of the King's peace, and gave them their oath in true substance as the Constables take it in England; likewise all controversies about meum and tuum were tried by juries after the manner of England, and after a while grand juries were appointed for further inquiry into such matter as might tend to the King's peace."

The power of legislating for the colony was vested by the Charter in the Freemen of the Company assembled in General Court, who made laws binding not only upon themselves but also upon all the inhabitants subject to

the Company's jurisdiction. The power of taxation was plainly implied. The corporation could not govern a growing commonwealth with no financial resources other than income from its commercial activities and assessments laid upon its own members. As the source of title to the lands which it granted to towns, groups of proprietors, and individuals, the Company might have made its grants conditional upon the payment of graduated annual rentals. To levy taxes, for building forts and for other public purposes, and to apportion the same among the several towns, was a necessary exercise of the powers of government vested in the Company, and a much less vexatious method of raising a revenue than perpetual land rents.

A collection of laws was printed at Cambridge in 1648, which may properly be deemed the first of the series of Revised Statutes of Massachusetts. It was not a new body of laws, but a compilation, with additions and revisions, of the laws and orders of a general nature which had been previously enacted by the General Court. This volume is entitled "The Book of the General Laws and Liberties concerning the Inhabitants of Massachusetts," published by the General Court at Boston on the 14th of the first month Anno 1647, printed at Cambridge 1648, "to be solde at the shop of Hezekiah Usher in Boston." Apparently the Treasurer of the Company at the request of the General Court, underwrote the cost of the books, for he petitioned the General Court for reimbursement, explaining that certain corrections and changes made by the General Court subsequent to the official date of publication in 1647 had been overlooked when the books were printed the following year, so that the edition was unsaleable and many of the books destroyed. The Treasurer was awarded twenty pounds to make good his loss. This incident may explain the fact that until quite recently not a single copy was known to be in existence. The copy now in the Huntington Library in California came to light in England at the sale of a private library. In the vigorous language of the late Nathan Matthews: "That copy was bought by a London bookseller and sold to one of those despicable book collec-



tors whose sole objective is to spend their money in buying books and then hiding them, with the idea that when they die and their collection is sold they will bring a great price and incidentally bring great posthumous repute to them." Mr. Matthews explained however that he did not include Mr. Huntington in his strictures, as he was not at all that type of collector.

The vital principle of the Puritan political philosophy is expressed in the quotation from Scripture which appears on the title page of this book of the Laws of 1648:

"Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist receive to themselves damnation."—Romanes 13:2.

There is an introduction addressed to the Inhabitants of Massachusetts, in which the official theories as to Church and State and as to the status of the non-freemen find expression in passages like the following:

"This hath been no small priviledge and advantage to us in New England that our Churches and civil State have been planted and growne up (like two twinnes) together like that of Israel in the wilderness by which wee were put in minde (and had opportunitie put into our hands) not only to gather our Churches and set up the Ordinances of Christ Jesus in them according to the Apostolick patterne by such light as the Lord graciously afforded us: but also withall to frame our civil Politie and lawes according to the rules of his most holy word whereby each do help and strengthen other (the Churches the civil Authoritie, and the civil Authoritie the Churches) and so both prosper the better without such aemulation and contention for priviledges or priority as have proved the misery (if not ruine) of both in some other places.

"You have called us from amongst the rest of our Bretheren and given us power to make these lawes: we must now call upon you to see them executed: remembering that old & true proverb, The execution of the law is the life of the law. If one sort of you viz: non-Free-men should object that you had no hand in calling us to this worke, and therefore think yourselves not bound to obedience &c. Wee answer that a subsequent or

implicit consent is of like force in this case as an expresse precedent power: for in putting your persons and estates into the protection and way of subsistence held forth and exercised within this Jurisdiction, you doe tacitly submit to this Government and to all the wholesome lawes thereof, and so is the common repute in all nations and that upon this Maxim, *Qui sentit commodum sentire debet et opus.*"

That they did not intend ever to condone disobedience to the "civil Authoritie" on the plea of the "higher law," they gave full warning in the following language: "That distinction which is put between the Lawes of God and the lawes of men becomes a snare to many as it is misapplied in the ordering of their obedience to civil Authoritie; for when the Authoritie is of God and that in way of an Ordinance Rom. 13.1. and when the administration of it is according to deductions and rules gathered from the word of God and the clear light of nature in civil nations, surely there is no humane law that tendeth to common good (according to those principles) but the same is mediately a law of God, and that in way of an Ordinance which all are to submit unto and that for conscience sake. Rom. 13.5."

Thus is proclaimed the Divine Right of the civil Authoritie, to wit: the Great and General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Company; and that this Authoritie was "of God," and was exercised for the common good in accordance with the word of God and the law of Nature, admitted for them of no doubt or denial.

The introduction, in one paragraph, refers to the time spent by the General Court in making laws and repealing and altering them so often, and quotes in excuse the saying of the Civilian (sic), "*Crescit in orbe dolus.*"

There are many provisions in the Laws of 1648 relating to towns and the duties of town officers. These provisions and those defining the jurisdiction of the Assistants as Magistrates, give the outlines of the system of local government under the Charter after it had become fully organized. The later revisions of 1660 and 1672 made few changes.

As three-quarters or more of the grown men of the



colony were not Freemen, it is interesting to observe what share, if any, the non-Freemen were entitled to take in the local affairs of their towns.

First, the General Court had ordered, decreed and declared: "That everie man, whether Inhabitant or Forreiner, Free or not Free shall have libertie to come to any publick Court, Counsell, or Town-meeting; and either by speech or writing to move any lawfull, seasonable or material question; or to present any necessarie motion, complaint, petition, bill or information whereof that Meeting hath proper cognisance, so it be done in convenient time, due order and respective manner."

Jurymen were chosen by the Freemen only, at meetings warned by the town constable pursuant to process from the Recorder of the Court. But the Freemen could choose as jurymen persons who were not Freemen, as appears by the following order of the General Court:

"This Court taking into consideration the useful Parts and abilities of divers Inhabitants amongst us which are not Freemen, which if improved to public use, the affairs of this Common-wealth may be the easier caried an end (sic) in the severall Towns of this Jurisdiction, doth order and hereby declare; That henceforth it shall and may be lawfull for the Freemen within any of the said Towns to make choice of such Inhabitants (though non-Freemen) who have taken, or shall take the Oath of fidelitie to this Government to be Jurie-men, and to have their Vote in the choice of the Select-men for the town Affairs, Assessments of Rates and other Prudentials proper to the Select-men of the several Towns. Provided still that the major part of all companyes of Select-men be Free-men from time to time that shall make any valid Act. As also, where no Select-men are, to have their Vote in ordering of Schools, hearding of cattle, laying out of High-wayes and distributing of Lands; any Law, Use or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding. Provided also that no non-Freeman shall have his Vote untill he have attained the age of twenty one years."

The reference to places "where no Selectmen are" is probably explained by the fact that there were from time to time settlements not yet organized as towns, as where

lands had been granted to a group of proprietors with a view to the future settlement of a town. These unorganized townships were sometimes called "peculiar," and in such places temporarily the non-Freemen were authorized to have a voice in the common concerns of the new settlement.

That the small number of Freemen was not altogether due to a policy of restricting the number admitted, is indicated by the following enactment occasioned, it would seem, by the want of public spirit on the part of persons qualified to become Freemen:

"Whereas there are within this Jurisdiction many members of Churches who to exempt themselves from all public service in the Common-wealth will not come in to be made Freemen, it is therefore ordered by this Court and the Authoritie thereof, That all such members of Churches in the severall towns within this Jurisdiction shall not be exempted from such publick service as they are from time to time chosen to by the Freemen of the severall towns; as Constables, Jurors, Select-men and Surveyors of high-ways. And if any such person shall refuse to serve in, or take upon him any such Office being legally chosen thereunto, he shall pay for every such refusall such Fine as the town shall impose, not exceeding twenty shillings as Freemen are lyable to in such cases."

The obligation of all to contribute to the common charges, whether Freemen or not, is imposed in the following terms:

"This Court taking into consideration the necessity of an equal contribution to all common charges in towns, and observing that the chief occasion of the defect heerin ariseth from hence, that many of those who are not Freemen nor members of any Church doe take advantage thereby to withdraw their help in such voluntary contributions as are in use, It is therefore ordered by this Court and Authoritie thereof, That everie Inhabitant shal henceforth contribute to all charges both in Church & Commonwealth wherof he doth or may receive benefit: and every such inhabitant who shall not voluntarily contribute proportionably to his ability with the Freemen of the same town, to all common charges both civil and eccle-



siastical shall be compelled thereto by assessment & distresse to be levied by the Constable or other Officer of the town as in other Cases: and that the lands & estates of all men (wherever they dwell) shall be rated for all town charges both civil and ecclesiasticall as aforesaid where the lands and estates shal lye: their persons where they dwell."

The Freemen of every township, with such others as were permitted to vote in town meeting, were authorized by the General Court to make such laws and constitutions as might concern the welfare of their town, provided they were not of a criminal but only of a prudential nature and that their penalty did not exceed 20 shillings for one offence and that they were not "repugnant to the publick Laws and Orders of the Countrie."

The choice of Selectmen was authorized as follows:

"Also that the Freemen of everie town or Township with such other the Inhabitants as have taken the Oath of fidelitie shall have full power to choos yearly, or for lesse time, within each Township a convenient number of fit men to order the planting and prudential occasions of that Town, according to instructions given them in writing. Provided, nothing be done by them contrary to the publick Laws and Orders of the Countrie. Provided also that the number of such Select persons be not above nine."

All towns were directed to take care from time to time to order and dispose of all single persons and inmates within their towns to service or otherwise. It was ordered that there should be a sufficient Pound in every town and village.

Every township, or such as are deputed to order the prudential affairs thereof, is authorized to "present" to the Quarter Court all idle and unprofitable persons, and all children who are not diligently employed by their parents.

Some of the duties imposed on the Selectmen were the following:

To regulate the fencing, planting, sowing, feeding and ordering of the common fields where the occupiers do not agree.

To appoint once a year a committee to perambulate the town boundaries.

To appoint fence-viewers.

To hear and determine small causes and try petty offences with same powers as a Magistrate, when the only magistrate in town is an interested party.

To list all male persons over sixteen, and make annual valuations of property for taxation.

Selectmen were enjoined by the General Court to have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbors where they dwelt, to see that no heads of families neglected to teach their children and apprentices to read the English tongue and knowledge of the capital laws; and masters of families were enjoined at least once a week to catechize their children in the grounds and principles of religion, so that they might be able to answer when questioned by their parents or masters or any of the selectmen.

And all masters and parents were enjoined to bring up their children and apprentices in some useful calling, labor, or employment, either in husbandry or some other trade profitable to themselves and the commonwealth, "if they will not or cannot train them up in learning to fit them for higher employment."

The marriage of any orphans not bound to service by their parents when alive, required the approval of the major part of the Selectmen or of a Magistrate.

The duties of the Town Constable are prescribed in much detail:

Constables are to whip and punish by order of Authority in their own towns, "unless they can get another to do it."

Every constable is authorized to make, sign, and put forth Pursuits or Hue and Cries after Murderers, Manslayers, Peace-Breaking Thieves, Robbers, Burglars, and other Capital Offenders where no Magistrate is near at hand. Also to apprehend without warrant such as are overtaken with drink, Sabbath-breakers, liars, vagrants, or any other offenders, either by sight of the constable or by present information from others. Also to make search for such persons on the Sabbath-day or on other occasions, in all licensed houses or other suspected or disorderly



places and keep them in safe custody till opportunity serve to bring them before one of the next Magistrates for further examination. Persons refusing to assist the Constables to be fined by warrant from any Magistrate before whom such offender be brought. And that no man may plead ignorance for such neglect or refusal, it is ordered that every Constable shall have a black staff of five foot long, tipped at the upper end about five inches with brass, as a badge of office.

The establishment of new Churches required the approval of the General Court, as appears from the following ordinance:

"All the people of God within this Jurisdiction who are not in a Church way and be orthodox in judgment and not scandalous in life shall have full libertie to gather themselves into a Church estate, provided they doe it in a christian way with due observation of the rules of Christ revealed in his word. Provided also that the General Court doth not, nor will hereafter approve of any such Companyes of men as shall joyne in any pretended way of Church fellowship unless they shall acquaint the Magistrates and the Elders of the neighbour Churches where they intend to joyn, & have their approbation therein."

And it is further ordered that no person being a member of any church which shall be gathered without the approbation of the Magistrates and the said churches shall be admitted to the freedom of the Commonwealth.

Every church was to have free liberty,

(1) to exercise all the ordinances of God according to the rules of Scripture,

(2) to elect and ordain all her officers from time to time, "Provided they be able, pious and orthodox,"

(3) to deal with her members in a church way that are in the hands of justice, so as not to retard or hinder the course thereof, and

(4) to deal with a Magistrate, Deputy of Court, or other officer, that is a member, in a church way in case of apparent or just offence, so as it be done with due observance and respect.

Ministers and Elders of "neer adjoyning" churches

were authorized to gather in monthly conferences concerning matters of doctrine, worship, or church government, but the independence of the individual churches was protected by the enactment that nothing be concluded and imposed by way of Authoritie from one or more churches upon another but only by way of brotherly conferences and consultations.

Disparagement or contempt of the minister or his teaching was an offence punishable by the Magistrate, and for the second offence the penalty was five pounds fine, or to stand two hours openly upon a block or stool four feet high on a lecture day, with a paper fixed on the culprit's breast, written in capital letters: "An Open and Obstinate Contemner of God's Holy Ordinances," that others might fear and be ashamed of breaking out into like wickedness.

Every person was required to attend meeting on the Lord's Day and on public fast days and days of thanksgiving, on penalty of five shillings fine, all such offences to be heard and determined by any one Magistrate or more from time to time.

The ultimate control in matters ecclesiastical was reserved to the civil authority, in the following language:

"Forasmuch as the peace and prosperity of Churches and members thereof as well as civil Rights & Liberties are carefully to be maintained, it is ordered by this Court & decreed, That the civil Authoritie heer established hath power and liberty to see the peace, ordinance and rules of Christ be observed in everie Church according to his word. As also to deal with any church-member in a way of civil justice notwithstanding any church relation, office or interest; so it be done in a civil and not in an ecclesiastical way. Nor shall any church censure degrade or depose any man from any civil dignity, office, or authoritie he shall have in the Common-wealth."

The official theology was made a part of the law of the land by the following provision aimed at "Heresies":

"Although no humane power be Lord over the Faith & Consciences of men, and therefore may not constrein them to believe or professe against their Consciences: yet because such as bring in damnable heresies, tending to the subversion of the Christian Faith, and destruc-



tion of the soules of men ought duly to be restrained from such notorious impiety, it is therefore ordered and decreed by this Court; That if any Christian within this Jurisdiction shall go about to subvert and destroy the christian Faith and Religion, by broaching or maintaining any damnable heresie; as denying the immortallitie of the Soul, or the resurrection of the body, or any sin to be repented of in the Regenerate, or any evil done by the outward man to be accounted sin: or denying that Christ gave himself a Ransom for our sins, or shall affirm that wee are not justified by his Death and Righteousness, but by the perfection of our own works; or shall deny the moralitie of the fourth commandment, or shall indeavor to seduce others to any the heresies aforementioned, everie such person continuing obstinate therein after due means of conviction shall be sentenced to Banishment."

Jesuits and priests of Rome were forbidden to come within the jurisdiction, Ana-baptists were denounced as "Incendiaries of commonwealths and Infectors of persons," on the ground, as stated, that those who hold the baptizing of infants unlawful have usually held other errors or heresies, such as denying the lawfulness of making war, the lawfulness of Magistrates and their jurisdiction to punish breaches of the first Table. All such were liable to be haled before a Magistrate and bound over for trial, the penalty being banishment.

Space does not permit the enumeration of the powers and duties of towns and town officers in respect to schools, the settlement of paupers and poor relief, the construction and maintenance of roads, and the regulation of trade.

The following are examples drawn from the records of a few towns, showing how some of these laws were carried into effect.

In Ipswich, in 1642, it was voted that the "Seven Men" are to see that children neglected by their parents are employed, learned to read and understand the principles of religion, and if necessary bound out to service. Also that whosoever kills a wolf is to have — and the skin,

if he nail the head up at the meeting house, and give notice to the Constables.

In 1661 there is the record of the appointment of certain persons to keep order in the meeting house.

In 1670, the Constables were ordered to prevent young persons from being out late, especially on Sabbath, lecture and training-day evenings.

In 1672, it was voted that laborers are forbidden to have intoxicating liquors.

And in 1681, single persons are ordered to put themselves under the care of some head of a family, Daniel Weldon is required to return to his wife, and another inhabitant is complained of because he has had a servant many years and has not taught him to read.

In Lynn, for several years before the land was divided and the fields fenced, the cattle were kept in one drove, guarded by an official called the "hayward." The inhabitants cut their wood in common and drew lots for the grass on the meadows and marshes.

In 1632, Mr. Batchelor, the first minister, was complained of before the General Court and was required to forbear exercising his gifts as pastor or teacher publicly "unless it be to those he brought with him," for his contempt of authority, and until some scandals be removed.

William Pynchon of Springfield came under censure of the General Court for a book written by him and published in England, entitled "The Meritorious Price of Man's Redemption," which was considered unorthodox on the doctrine of the Atonement. The book was ordered to be burned, and although the author retracted his views, he departed for England and never returned.

Malden was fined by the General Court in 1649 for calling a minister without the consent of the neighboring churches and without the approval of the General Court.

In Reading, three married women were fined three shillings apiece for scolding, in 1649. In 1650, the deputy from Reading and five others dissented from the order of the General Court that Pynchon's book on Redemption be burned in Boston and its author called to account.

In 1662, the town voted "That every dog that comes to the meeting after the present day, either on Lord's day or lecture days, except it be their dogs that pays for a



dog-whipper, the owners of those dogs shall pay sixpence for every time they come to the meeting that doth not pay the dog-whipper."

At a General Court in May, 1667, the plantation of Nipmug was made a town by the name of Mendon. There was no Magistrate among the first settlers, and on January 1, 1669, the townsmen chose the Colonel to be nominated to the General Court to obtain power to take the verdict of a jury upon the death of John Lovett, to marry, and to give the present constable his oath. These powers were conferred on Colonel Crowne at a General Court at Boston, on May 19, 1669.

The salary of Joseph Emerson, the first minister of this town, was fixed at 45 pounds for the first two years, to be paid as follows: Ten pounds at Boston yearly at some shop there or in money at this town, the remainder to be made up, two pounds of butter for every cow, the rest in pork, wheat, barley, and so to make the year's pay in work, Indian corn, rye, pease and beef. All differences between the minister and the town to be referred for adjudication to the churches of Medfield, Dedham, and Roxbury.

The charter was revoked in 1684, thus terminating the life of the corporation. This was not an act of tyranny, for the grounds of forfeiture were substantial and notorious. The legal status of the Freemen perished with the charter, and for the next seven years, until the Province Charter of William and Mary inaugurated a new era, no inhabitants of Massachusetts had any legal right to assemble for the purpose of law-making.

During the whole colonial period, from 1629 to 1684, Massachusetts made little or no progress towards religious toleration or political democracy.

The mother country learned, after a century and a half of dissension ending in civil wars and revolutions, that religious minorities could safely be tolerated, but only when the non-conformists themselves had learned that they must cease to contend for the supremacy of their own brand of religion. The founders of Massachusetts crossed the ocean before the conclusion of the matter. When they left home, religious and political thinkers were

almost unanimous in the belief that uniformity of religious faith and forms of worship was necessary for the safety and well-being of the State.

This belief the Puritan leaders of Massachusetts never outgrew. It may be that at the close of the colonial era, Increase Mather held more liberal views; but whether he did or did not, he well knew that he could never obtain either from King James or from King William a charter which discriminated against those subjects of the King who adhered to the Established Church and desired to worship according to its forms.

The new charter, with the franchise granted to all freeholders, subject to a moderate property qualification, and with religious toleration for all Christians except Papists, was regarded as a calamity by the Magistrates and the ministers. That it was regarded in the same way by the great majority of the people of Massachusetts is more than likely. For the people looked up to their ministers and took their opinions from them. Although only a minority were church members, all went to meeting—they had no choice—and in the absence of books, libraries and newspapers, their whole intellectual life was molded by their spiritual teachers.

The loss of the charter was in reality a blessing. It had become a strait-jacket, and no progress was to be expected until the bonds were loosed. The chartered Company had played its part. Its great and lasting accomplishment was the founding of a strong and flourishing colony of Englishmen and attracting to these shores a great migration of the best people of the mother country, made up, as the colonists were, of representatives of all social classes except the lowest, and possessing that high average of intelligence, education, and character which may well inspire their descendants with pride and the will to be worthy of their inheritance.





## ROGER WILLIAMS

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BY REV. MILO E. PEARSON, D. D.

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The Protestant Reformation was hardly under way when the inevitable took place. Individuals arose who were much more radical in their ideas than were Luther, Zwingli and Calvin. They considered these men but half-way reformers. One of the best known of these more radical groups was the Anabaptists. They held ideas, which at the time were considered most dangerous both to religion and the state, although today many of these ideas meet with widespread approval.

They believed that the individual had a right to interpret the Bible for himself. Luther had set a precedent for this position. But while he exercised this privilege, he denied it to others. Many of them discriminated between the value and the authority of the New Testament and the Old. They held that the true church was composed of believers only. Infant baptism they rejected, thinking it to be opposed to the principle of personal, voluntary action in religion. They often re-baptized those who had received the rite in infancy, considering that this was no true baptism at all. Owing to this practice they came to be called Anabaptists. In matters of conscience they held that the state had no supremacy. In fact, they went further and said the state had no responsibility in religion. They stood for universal toleration, complete disestablishment, and freedom in religious worship, organization and teaching. They were opposed to capital punishment, and because of this position many of them contended that a Christian ought not to accept the office of a civil magistrate. Their



enemies declared that if this were the case, then "we must turn to the heathen or Turks for our governors." But, said they, "Not so, for there are but few Christians even in Christian lands, and hosts of men are left for rulers." Furthermore, they were opposed to the use of the oath, feeling that a man's "Yea" or "Nay" should be sufficient. Their opposition to war was such, that their enemies accused them of striking at the very foundation of the state. In imitation of the early church some advocated economic communism. Others did not go so far, but maintained that all property belonged to the Lord, and should be used freely in caring for the needy. Among them there were radicals and extremists, who declared that women as well as goods ought to be held in common, and these brought the whole movement into great disrepute.

In 1657 the Anabaptists in the Netherlands were persecuted very severely by the Duke of Alva, in consequence of which many left the country. Large numbers of them fled to England, and settled in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex Counties. Here and in the counties of York, Nottingham and Lincoln many of the Separatists were found. The two groups naturally came in touch with, and undoubtedly influenced each other.

It may be well to bear some of these things in mind as we study the life of Roger Williams, one of the outstanding Separatists of the 17th century.

In the past there has been doubt about the birth and parentage of Roger Williams. One theory has been that he was born in Wales in 1599 and was a relative of Cromwell. Another was that he was born in 1602 and was the third son of William Williams of Roseworthy, Cornwall, Eng. But it is now known beyond reasonable doubt that he was the son of Alice Williams and of James her husband, who was "A citizen and merchant tailor" of London. Williams never mentioned the date of his birth. It is not altogether strange, for he does not give the birth records of his own children with any exactness. But undoubtedly he was born in the very early years of the 17th century.

At an early age Roger Williams took up shorthand, and practiced in the Star Chamber where he attracted the attention of Sir Edward Coke, who later became his patron. The daughter of Coke leaves this memorandum on the back of one of Williams' letters.

"This Roger Williams, when he was a youth, would, in shorthand, take sermons and speeches in the Star Chamber and present them to my dear father. He, seeing so hopeful a youth, took such a liking to him that he sent him to the Sutton's Hospital, and he was the second that was placed there; full little did he think that he would have proved such a rebel to God, the King and his country. I leave his letters that, if ever he has the face to return into his native country, Tyburn may give him welcome."

Sutton's Hospital, of which Mrs. Anne Sadlier speaks, was a part of Charter House, London, and the records show that Roger Williams was admitted as a pensioner there on June 25, 1621. For his higher education he went to Pembroke College, Cambridge, entering June 29, 1623, and receiving the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1626-7.

Shortly after leaving Cambridge he became private Chaplain for Sir William Masham of Otes, County of Essex. An interesting experience grew out of the relationship. The mother of Lady Masham was Lady Joan Barrington. In her household was a niece, Miss Jane Whalley, whom Williams naturally met and with whom he fell in love. How far his feelings were reciprocated we don't know, but the matter evidently attracted so much attention, and caused so much comment that Williams evidently felt bound to write quite frankly to Lady Barrington. The letter was most effusive. He tells of his affection for Miss Whalley and of how, although he had received offers of other livings, he "shall not be drawn on any terms to part from Otes, so long as any competency can be raised or liberty afforded." And in closing he speaks of his esteem for her in the most lavish terms.

Evidently the reply was curt and final, for he answers



in a very different vein. He tells her very frankly that the Lord has a quarrel with her and he dare not hide it from her. He bids her cry hard unto the Lord. He assures her that the Lord owes her no mercy, and does not care for birth or money. He gives this further warning: "Call to mind what a cut—what a gnawing worm it will be if ever you cast your eye up toward heaven and see so many branches in the bosom of Christ and your stock rejected." The first letter he closes with "The unworthiest (though faithful) of all that truly serve and honour you." The second he closes with "Your Ladyship's most faithful and obedient servant."

But feelings, though seriously wounded, have a wondrous power of recuperation. This was true in the case of Roger Williams, for within nineteen months, on Dec. 1, 1630, he and his wife Mary sailed from Bristol on the ship *Lyon*, bound for New England.

It should not be supposed, however, that the episode just related was a determining factor in his emigration. Williams belonged to the more radical party among the Puritans. His position before leaving England is made clear in his own words, when he says: "Master Cotton may call to mind that the discussor, riding with himself and one other of precious memory (Master Hooker) to and from Sempringham, presented his argument from Scripture, why he durst not join with them in their use of Common Prayer."

His attitude toward the Church of England was very different from that of most of the Puritans coming to Massachusetts Bay. Higginson probably voiced the attitude of the majority in the words which Mather says he spoke from the prow of the ship, as he and his fellow emigrants set out for the New World in 1629. "We will not say as the Separatists were wont to say at their leaving England, 'Farewell, Babylon! Farewell, Rome!' but we will say, 'Farewell, dear England! Farewell, the Church of God in England, and all the Christian friends there! We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Church of England, though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it, but we go to practice

the positive part of Church reformation and propagate the Gospel in America." This attitude is still further emphasized by a document which Hubbard says Mr. White of Dorchester was reported to have drawn up and which was to "the brethren in and of the Church of England, for the obtaining of their prayers and the removal of suspicions and misconceptions of their intentions." It says in part, "We desire you would be pleased to take notice of the principal and body of our company, as those who esteem it our honour to call the Church of England from whence we rise, our dear mother! and cannot part from our native country, where she especially resideth, without much sadness of heart, and many tears in our eyes, ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation we have received in her bosom, and sucked it from her breasts. We leave not, therefore, as loathing that milk wherewith we were nourished there, but blessing God for the parentage and education, as members of the same body, shall always rejoice in her good and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow shall ever betide her, and while we have breath sincerely desire the continuance and abundance of her welfare, with the enlargement of her bounds in the kingdom of Christ Jesus."

The document of which this is a part was signed by:

John Winthrop, Gov.	Rich. Saltonstall,
Charles Fines,	Isaac Johnson,
George Phillips,	Theo. Dudley,
William Coddington	

It was addressed "From Yarmouth, aboard the Arbella April 7, 1630."

But the position of Williams was otherwise. He demonstrates this immediately upon his arrival in New England. He evidently attracted the attention of Bishop Laud, who made life so uncomfortable for him that he left the country. In a letter to the daughter of Sir Edward Coke he says: "I was persecuted in and out of my father's house. Truly it was as bitter as death to me when Bishop Laud pursued me out of the land, and my



conscience was persuaded against the national church and ceremonials and bishops."

Williams, as has been said, left Bristol with his wife on Dec. 1, 1630, and arrived at Nantasket the 5th of the following February. He was a man of ability and was welcomed as a great addition to the Colony. Some biographers make much of the fact that Winthrop spoke of him as a "Godly minister," but too great emphasis must not be placed upon this remark, as Winthrop spoke of most of the ministers in the same way.

It so happened that upon the arrival of Williams, Mr. Wilson, the minister of the First Church in Boston, was just leaving for England, where he was to remain for some time. Accordingly, the church extended a call to Williams to take up the work. Williams investigated and found that the church had not separated from the Established Church, so he refused to accept the call unless they would publicly declare their repentance for having communion with the Church of England while they lived there. Furthermore, he announced his opinion "that the magistrate might not punish the breach of the Sabbath, nor any other offence, that was a breach of the first table."

As the First Church was very proud of its position in the Colony, it is not difficult to imagine the answer, Williams received. However ill-advised his action may have been, Williams was taking an attitude consistent with his position expressed to Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker before he left England.

So far as Williams writings are concerned, we would be led to suppose that after the difference of opinion in Boston he went directly to Plymouth. For in a letter to John Cotton, the younger, written March 25, 1671, Williams says: "Being unanimously chosen teacher at Boston (before your dear father came, divers years), I conscientiously refused, and withdrew to Plymouth, because I durst not officiate to an unseparated people, as upon examination and conference I found them to be."

But on April 12th Winthrop makes this note in his journal: "At a court holden at Boston (upon informa-

In Salem. the 8<sup>th</sup> month called Octob. 1635  
Memorandum that if John Woolcott of Salem  
gent. Bartered and sold unto ~~William~~  
all (and every) part of my house and my estate in Salem  
(formerly in the occupation of Mr. Roger Williams, deceased)  
from by order from Mr. Higginson sold unto me, as  
by a quitrent. and in my hand doth appear, as also  
all the out house, with a bedchamber, stable, and  
a kitchen in the fore said dwelling house, with all the  
furniture about it, as to all herents belong unto it.  
Also all the furniture Mr. Higginson of Charlot Court, &  
for my self, had or have in a certain Dutch lot of ground  
on the south side of the river in consideration of the sum  
of five pounds. Ten shillings to me in hand  
paid, according to the order of debitment made by me  
to the executor, & John Woodbury, in difference the charge  
by and before that purpose in full satisfaction of the  
sum of five pounds. And for said John Woolcott doth  
acknowledge me fully contented and paid and hence  
acquitted for so much his price, & assigns for ever  
for his part, upon the hand & estate unto me, and  
any sale this 8<sup>th</sup> of the 8<sup>th</sup> month called Octob. ann. 1635

Witnessed signed and  
delivered in presence

Raph. Hoar, Sec.

Attest  
John Turner.

John Woolcott

DEED OF THE HOUSE IN WHICH ROGER WILLIAMS LIVED IN SALEM.

John Woolcott to William Lord, 1635.

The oldest deed extant of land in Salem.





tion to the governor, that they of Salem had called Mr. Williams to the office of teacher) a letter was written from the court to Mr. Endicott to this effect: 'That whereas Mr. Williams had refused to join with the congregation at Boston, . . . etc.: therefore they marvelled they would choose him without advising with the council; and withal desiring him, that they would forbear to proceed till they had conferred about it.'

Mr. Williams had been called to Salem to become associated with Mr. Skelton, as Mr. Higginson who first held the position had died. But we have little information about the whole matter. We do know that his stay in Salem was short. The reason for his departure we can only surmise. Evidently it was not the ill-will of the church for within two years he was back again ministering to the people. But whatever the cause, he withdrew to Plymouth where he would be out of the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and where he would be associated with a people who, like himself, were thoroughly Separatist in their principles. He was well received in the Plymouth Colony and was made assistant to the pastor, Mr. Ralph Smith.

The record of his life among the Pilgrims is meager. We know that he made good use of his time, in cultivating good relations with the Indians and in becoming familiar with their language. He had a sincere interest in their welfare, and this action proved to be of as much, or more, help to him than it did to them. For the confidence and friendship which he had won were of the utmost importance at the time of his banishment from the Bay, and in the later misunderstandings with the Indians.

He seems to have supported himself and family by his own efforts, and to have given his religious services to the people without charge. He says of himself: "At Plymouth I spake on the Lord's Day and each week day, and worked hard at my hoe for very bread." Williams was bitterly opposed to what he called a "hireling ministry." His conviction about the self-support of the clergy was linked up with his belief that religion and the



church ought not to be sustained and supported by the state. He felt that the ministry would gladly be rid of the assistance of the Civil Sword were it not for the economic interest and dependence. In "The Bloody Tenent" he makes his position clear. "Those worthy men, the authors of these positions, and others of their judgement have cause to examine their souls with feare and trembling in the presence of God upon this interrogatory, viz; whether or no this be the bottom and root of the matter; If they could have the same supply of maintenance without the helpe of the Civil Sword, or were persuaded to live upon the voluntary contributions of poore saints, or their owne labour, as the Lord Jesus and his first Messengers did: I say, if this lay not in the bottom, whether or no they could not be willingly shut of the Civil power and left only to their inoffensive libertie."

But to return to the Indians. During the months spent in Plymouth he became intimate with Massasoit, the Sachem of the Wampanoags, who were in that vicinity. He also became acquainted with Canonibus, Sachem of the Narragansetts. In speaking of his association with the Indians, Williams says: "God was pleased to give me a painful, patient spirit to lodge with them in their filthy smoke holes (even while I lived in Plymouth and Salem) to gain their tongue."

One cannot help admiring this man with his attractive personality, his ability, his individuality, and initiative, but when the record has been read, one is inclined to wish that God had given him the power to exercise some of the patience toward his brethren, which he lavished on the Indians. And one is further inclined to believe that the patience of which he spoke must have been painful to such a censorious and disputatious man.

Even in Plymouth, where he was among kindred spirits, his contentiousness annoyed and divided the people. Strauss, in his life of Roger Williams, remarks: "It is only within our generation that the history of New England is beginning to be truthfully written, and the Puritan Fathers—the Winthrops, Dudleys, Endicotts, Cottons and Mathers—are appearing as creatures of flesh

and blood, clothed with their qualities and defects, their virtues and their faults." The same may rightfully be said about Roger Williams. He was a man of remarkable honesty and integrity, but he was not angelic in his nature, nor was he a paragon of virtue in all respects. He, too, was "a man of flesh and blood, clothed with faults and virtues." He could be very blunt and arrogant in the expression of his opinions, as is recalled in his second letter to Lady Barrington. Even in Plymouth he spoke very severely to the people. He was given to proclaiming unique ideas—and then to defending them with vehemence.

An example of the depths to which he could go in his trivialities is shown in a Plymouth experience. It was the custom of the time for people in ordinary walks of life to address each other as "Goodman." Williams opposed the practice, and more than that, branded it as blasphemous. His argument was arranged from an ingenious interpretation of Scripture, where Jesus said, "Why callest thou me good? There is none good but one, that is God." The trivial question was carried so far that the Colony became divided. Finally when Gov. Winthrop and Rev. Mr. Wilson paid a visit to Plymouth the question was submitted to them. Winthrop approached the matter in a common-sense way and said that the term was only a conventional greeting, and had no theological implications, and that it was hardly worth an argument. And with this the matter was dropped. It seems strange that the question should ever have been raised.

Perhaps it was because of his liking for an argument that the people in Plymouth welcomed his departure as well as his arrival.

Bradford gives us the following account of him: "Mr. Roger Williams (a man Godly and zealous, having many precious parts, but very unsettled in judgmente) came over first to ye Massachusetts, but upon some discontent left yt place and came hither (where he was friendly entertained—according to their poore abilitie) and exercised his gifts amongst them, and after some time was



admitted a member of ye church and his teaching well approved, for ye benefite whereof I still bless God, and am thankful to him, even for his sharpest admonitions and reproofs, so far as they agreed with truth. He this year begane to fall into some strang oppinions and from oppinions to practise; which caused some controversie between ye church and him, and in ye end discontente on his parte, by occasion whereof he left them something abruptly. Yet afterwards sued for his dismissal to ye church of Salem, which was granted, with some caution to them concerning him, and what care they ought to have of him. But he soon fell into more things ther, both to their and ye government, troble and disturbance. I shall not need to name particulars, they are too well known now to all, though for a time ye church here went under some hard sensure by his occasion, from some that afterwards smarted themselves. But he is to be pitied, and prayed for, and so I shall leave ye matter and desire ye Lord to shew him his errors, and reduce him into ye way of truth, and give him a settled judgmente and constansie in ye same; for I hope he belongs to ye Lord, and yt he will shew him mercie."

In August of 1633 a daughter was born to Mr. and Mrs. Williams. She was named Mary after her mother. Shortly after this the family is found back in Salem. The exact date of their arrival seems not to be known. We know he was in Salem by October 11th, for Winthrop tells how Mr. Skelton and Mr. Williams (who had come from Plymouth but who did not hold any office) objected to the practice of the ministers of Boston and Saugus who were accustomed to meet once a fortnight at one of their houses, where they debated some important question. Skelton and Williams feared that these ministers' meetings might develop into a presbytery or some form of superintendency, which would be antagonistic to the liberty of the churches.

In a very short time Williams was in trouble, for on the 27th of December the governor and Council held a meeting in Boston at which time they considered a treatise which Williams had written while still in Plymouth.

According to his own word it was not written for the public but rather for the private perusal of Governor Bradford. But the news of it caused considerable concern among the leaders of Massachusetts, who no doubt were influenced to a great degree by the ministers. The causes for their concern were very real. Williams had taken some very pronounced positions. He contended that they had no right to the land in New England unless they had bought it from the Indians. In this he stood on good moral grounds. But many of the people were equally sensitive about this matter, and furthermore, his views coincided very largely with the company for Massachusetts, for in 1628 instructions were sent to Endicott to liquidate any equitable claims which were presented by the aborigines.

But Williams had made far more dangerous statements. He struck directly at the patent, which was the basis of the political existence of the Colony. First, he said that King James had told "a solemn public lie, because, in his patent, he blessed God that he was the first Christian prince that had discovered this land." Second, he charged the king and others "with blasphemy, for calling Europe Christendom or the Christian world." Third, he applied to the then King Charles, three passages found in Revelation. These passages are not known, but undoubtedly they were far from complimentary.

The governor wrote to Endicott about this matter and received a "discreet answer." Williams then wrote to the governor and to the rest of the Council in a conciliatory tone, saying that he had not intended it for the public, that it was not his purpose to carry it any further; and "offering his book or any part of it to be burned."

In January the governor and council met again, and considered Williams communication. It is significant that Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilson were present and gave their advice. They finally decided that the "offensive passages" were not as dangerous as they had supposed. No doubt their decision was influenced by two facts: first, that Williams had written in an obscure manner, and in



a way which "might well admit of doubtful interpretation"; and second, that he had been so conciliatory in his letter that they took it as a tacit agreement not to offend again.

But Williams was headstrong and impulsive as well as exceedingly conscientious, and so the next year Winthrop reports that the governor and assistants were informed that Williams had broken his promise and was teaching publicly against the patent, and about their great sin in claiming the country. Williams was summoned to appear before the court at its next session.

Not a few of the defenders of Williams commend him strongly in this matter, and by the same token, denounce the magistrates for their unreasonableness and severity. Strauss contends that Williams had made no promise whatever. However all this may be, any one conversant with the political situation can hardly fail to understand how inevitable was the concern of the magistrates.

Shortly before Williams left Plymouth word came from England that Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. Mason, being influenced by Gardiner, Morton and Ratcliff, who had been deported from the Colony, had petitioned the council against the people of Massachusetts, and had brought many false accusations against them. The chief thing which they urged was that they had letters written by some of the colonists against the church government in England. But owing to the help and defense given by some friends of the Colony, who were in London, nothing was done about the matter.

Then in May, 1633, two ships, the *William and Jane* and the *Mary and Jane* arrived from London. They brought further news of the charges which were being pressed against the Colony. They were accused of intending to rebel; of casting off their allegiance, and of separating themselves from the laws and the Church of England. Also it was charged that the minister and the people were continually railing against the state, church and bishops. This time they had been saved through the influence of Mr. Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Humphrey and Mr. Craddock, and they were assured by some of the

council that "his Majesty did not intend to impose the ceremonies of the Church of England upon them."

The delicacy of the situation, however, may be surmised from two letters written at the time to John Winthrop the younger. On March 18th, 1632-3, Edward Howes wrote expressing his strong conviction that they needed able friends to protect and defend their cause at court. He spoke feelingly of the ever-present danger. Then, on March 26th, Francis Kirby wrote saying, "Your friends here, who are members of your plantation, have had much to do to answer the unjust complaints made to the king and council of your government there." And he proceeds to say, "I know I need not advise you, that the prayers for our king be not neglected in any of your publick meetings; and I advise that you differ no more from us in church government, than you shall find that we differ from the prescript rule of God's word."

In July of 1634, some months before Williams was summoned to appear before the court for publicly denouncing the patent, and breaking his promise, as they considered, news came from Mr. Craddock that he had been ordered to return the patent, so he wrote demanding it. Thereupon the governor and council held a meeting and decided to answer the letter, "but not to return any answer or excuse to the council at that time."

A little later another communication was received from Mr. Craddock enclosing a copy of the council's order whereby they were commanded to return the patent. This time they held a long consultation and finally decided to answer Mr. Craddock's letter, and excuse themselves for not complying with the command, on the ground that it could be done only by order of the General Court, which would not meet until the following September.

At the meeting of the court on Sept. 18th, £600 were voted for the fortification. This was done because two ships had arrived bringing "a copy of a commission granted to the two archbishops and ten others of the council, to regulate all plantations, and power given them or any five of them, to call in all patents, to make laws,



to raise tythes and portions for ministers, to remove and punish governours and to hear and determine all causes, and inflict all punishments, even death itself." The Colony was advised that this was meant especially for them, and that ships had been provided to take soldiers and the new Governor to Virginia, but it was suspected that it was all destined for Massachusetts, the idea being to force upon the Colony this new governor and the discipline of the Church of England, along with the laws of the Commissioners. Winthrop records that this caused the magistrates to hasten their work on the fortifications. So great was the concern that the governor and assistants voted £500 more toward the fortifications.

Under the circumstances who can blame the magistrates for being somewhat nervous, and for being perhaps unduly suspicious of any in the Colony who by word or deed might cause them to be further suspected of disloyalty, not only to the church, but also to the crown.

Unfortunately within a month and a half of the last meeting of the court, complaint was made to the governor and the assistants, that the ensign at Salem had been defaced, by cutting out the red cross. Richard Davenport, the ensign bearer, was ordered to report at the next meeting of the court, to make answer to the charges. No doubt Winthrop tells the truth when he reports that "much matter was made of this, as fearing it would be taken as an act of rebellion, or of like high nature, in defacing the king's colours." Winthrop then goes on to explain that this was not the case, but rather "it was done upon this opinion, that the red cross was given to the king of England by the pope, as an ensign of victory, and so a superstitious thing, and a relic of antichrist."

No doubt this feeling was shared by many, if not by a great majority in the Colony, as will appear later. In fact, Bradford gives us telling testimony of the fear of Winthrop himself, concerning the cross. When Governor Winthrop and Mr. Wilson were on their way to Plymouth as previously recorded, they came to a river over which they were carried by Luddam, their guide. So the Governor called the place Luddam's Ford. Then

they came to a place called Hue's Cross. Here "The governor being displeased at that name, in respect that such things might hereafter give the Papists occasion to say that their religion was first planted in these parts, changed the name and called it Hue's Folly."

But it was one thing to take the cross out of a name. It was quite another to take it out of the king's colors. No wonder that the magistrates were aroused. There would be even stronger feeling today, at any mutilation of the flag. Endicott was the man charged with the actual deed. He was later brought to court and severely censured, and was sentenced to be disabled to hold any public office for the period of one year. The reason why a heavier sentence was not imposed was that the committee was persuaded that "he did it out of tenderness of conscience, and not of any evil intent."

The magistrates were greatly alarmed, not so much concerning the deed itself, as about the interpretation which might be placed upon it in England and the consequent effect upon the Colony. A meeting of the governor and assistants, therefore, was hastily called, at the house of the governor, on Nov. 27, 1634. In order to avoid suspicion it was decided that a letter should be sent to Mr. Downing, the brother-in-law of Mr. Winthrop, who was in London; that it should be signed by all present; and that they should express their disapproval of what Mr. Endicott had done, and should record their purpose of punishing him. But they were very careful in the wording of the letter, writing as Winthrop said, "with as much wariness as we might," for they themselves were doubtful about the lawful use of the cross in the ensign, although it seemed in this case that the act was most unlawful.

While Endicott was the one who cut the cross from the ensign, and while he was sentenced for the same, it was generally considered that he reflected the opinion of, and was influenced by, Williams, who upon the death of Skelton on August 2, 1634, was made pastor of the church.

If we are to do justice to all concerned, we ought to



remember that it was after all this had transpired, when the magistrates had good reason to be most sensitive and fearful, that Williams was called into court, on the charge of having broken his promise and of teaching publicly against the king's patent and of the sin of the people "in claiming any right thereby to the country." It was bad enough to have enemies attacking the patent from without, to say nothing of having them within.

The incident concerning the cutting of the cross from the ensign in Salem must not be taken too seriously. It must be remembered that in 1636 the magistrates took the same position as Endicott and Williams had done a short time before. It came about thus:

A ship named the *Hector* was in the harbor. The master's mate, a man by the name of Miller, denounced some of the people who came aboard ship, and called them all traitors and rebels because the king's colors were not flying at the fort. The Governor informed the Master, who agreed to turn the mate over to the magistrates. But it so happened that when the marshal and four sergeants went for him that the Master was away, and those in command would not give Miller up. The next day the Master turned him over to the court, where he admitted his offence and signed a submission, after which he was discharged. The wording of the submission is exceedingly derogatory and severe, and it is certain that Miller, far from writing it, must have signed it with many mental reservations, and with the idea that this was the best way out of a delicate and dangerous situation. Then the tables turned.

The governor asked the Masters present if they had anything to say. They spoke very courteously, but nevertheless made it very plain, that if they on their return to England were asked what colors they saw in Massachusetts, they wished to be able to say that they saw the king's colors. The magistrates tried to be very crafty in their reply, and said, that they did not have the king's colors. Then, no doubt to their great discomfort, the Masters offered to make them a present of the same. Thereupon they were forced to reveal their true feelings,

and replied, that they were persuaded that the cross was idolatrous, "and might not be set in their ensign." Undoubtedly they were conscientious in their position, but they desired safety as well as a clear conscience. So they conferred with Mr. Dudley and Mr. Cotton, and it was finally decided, that the king's colors "might be set up at the fort upon this distinction, that the fort was maintained in the king's name." Some of them could not accept this bit of sophistry, and so could not join in the act, but even they were so doubtful or fearful as to be unwilling to oppose the suggestion.

There has been a great deal of interest in the actual colors used by the colonists after the removal of the cross. Winthrop and other writers fail to give us the desired information. But a Journal written by Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter, and made available to the public by the Long Island Historical Society, shows us what it was. The men were from Holland and were members of a religious sect called Labadists. They were seeking land where they could establish a colony for their co-religionists. After visiting the Middle Colonists they returned to Europe by way of Boston. The journal contains this notation: "I observe that while the English flag or color has a red ground with a small white field in the uppermost corner, where there is a red cross, they have here dispensed with the cross in their colors, and preserved the rest."

But now to return to Williams. In April, 1635, he presented himself before the court. The charge against him seems not to be the breaking of his promise or his public teaching against the patent, but rather his position that the magistrate had no right to tender an oath to an unregenerate man. In so doing, Williams claimed that they had communion with an unregenerate man in the worship of God, and furthermore, that they caused the man to take the name of God in vain. Again the ministers were present and argued the matter. Endicott is reported to have supported Williams at the first, but later to have given way.



In July of 1635 Williams was summoned again, and appeared before the court, charged with dangerous opinions. First, he held that the magistrate ought not to punish the breach of the first table (that is, the first four commandments), except in such cases as disturbed the civic peace. Second, that the magistrate ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate man; Third, that a man ought not to pray with such, even though a wife or child; Fourth, that a man ought not to give thanks after the sacrament or after meat.

The position and the charges demonstrate most effectively the queer ways in which not only Williams, but the magistrates confused fundamentals and accidentals. Williams is to be commended most heartily for his conscientiousness and his stand for liberty in matters of religion. His contention for the separation of Church and State has long since been accepted on all sides. But it is to be lamented that he was not endowed with a mind more gifted in distinguishing the important from the unimportant, the vital from the trivial. But he was so constituted that he defended the one as rigorously as the other. The same tendency is found in the magistrates and the ministers.

The issues he created and championed seemed almost unbelievable. In Salem the episode of the veils is most ridiculous. But we must not be too hard and critical of Williams, for it was Skelton who, according to Hubbard, was the first to insist that all the women wear veils, "under the penalty of non-communion." He urged it both as a duty and a necessity. Williams followed the line which Skelton had laid down, and did it with equal, or even greater dogmatism. It must have been with the greatest relish that Mr. Cotton, speaking in the pulpit of his rival Mr. Williams one Sunday morning, demonstrated from Scripture that veils were worn, in Hebrew time, only by virgins, widows, or by women of the street, and then beheld the results of his labors, in the fact that women came to the afternoon lecture by Mr. Williams, unveiled.

But perhaps Mr. Cotton was more clever than con-

sistent, for he on the occasion of his wife's admission to the church gave testimony for her, saying that she should not be put to open confession, as it was not befitting a woman's modesty. He seems to have been more concerned for the modesty of Mrs. Cotton in Boston, than for the modesty of the women in Salem, which Mr. Williams had a mind to protect.

At the court at which Williams was censured for his erroneous opinions, the church in Salem was criticised for having called him to become its leader at a time when the other churches were about "to admonish him of his errors." The magistrates and ministers concurred in the view that his ideas were both erroneous and dangerous, and they held that the church was guilty of contempt in calling him at that time. But no sentence was passed. Rather time was given both to the church and Mr. Williams, to consider matters until the next meeting of the court, and then "to give satisfaction, or to expect sentence." And it was decided, upon advice of the ministers, which had been requested by the magistrates, "that if any one persisted in those opinions, he ought to be removed."

At this point matters rapidly became worse rather than better. The people in Salem had petitioned the General Court for a piece of land in Marblehead Neck, which they felt belonged to them. The case was not considered on its merits, but was put over until it was seen what satisfaction the church and ministers would make concerning the charges against them. Williams was naturally and rightly aroused. The people shared his feelings. In consequence letters were sent to the surrounding churches, asking them to admonish the magistrates about this (as they called it) heinous sin. The intentions behind the letters may have been of the best. But the results were distinctly bad. The deputies of Salem were not received by the next court, until satisfaction was given about the letters.

In August Mr. Williams was indisposed and was unable to speak. He wrote to the church saying that he could not have communion with the churches of the Bay,



and stating that he would not have communion with his own Church unless they likewise refused to fellowship with these sister churches. It is recorded that the church was grieved by the epistle.

In September Mr. Endicott appeared before the General Court and sought to justify the letters sent to the churches. But he was a shrewd man, and was careful to retract and to acknowledge his fault, before matters went too far and his case became irreparable. So here he acknowledged his fault, and was discharged.

But it was otherwise with Williams. Above all things he was honest, and also courageous. He took his position, rightly or wrongly, stood his ground, and then took the consequences. Endicott might take to cover, to save his skin, but not so with Williams. In October he was brought before the court again, charged with two letters. The first was the letter sent to the churches condemning the magistrates. The second was the letter to his own Church in Salem, urging the people not to fellowship with the other churches. But he, instead of recanting, stood his ground and defended his opinions. The court was narrow and bigoted. Williams was exceedingly opinionated. Here Greek met Greek. The court, however, sought to be fair. Williams was offered a month's delay, after which time there would be further conference and discussion. Perhaps his courage and zeal surpassed his judgment, for he chose to debate the matter immediately. Mr. Hooker was selected to discuss the points at issue with him and to show him his mistakes. Hooker was a man of ability, but he assumed a large contract when he undertook to convince Williams of his errors. Hooker failed, and the next morning Williams was sentenced to leave the colony within six weeks. In this predicament, as often happens, his own church deserted him, or at least Winthrop reports that "it had him under question for the same cause," and further, that it "openly disclaimed his errors, and wrote a humble submission to the magistrates, acknowledging their fault in joining with Mr. Williams in the letter to the churches."

Upon this turn of events, Williams adopted a drastic

policy with his own church. He wrote a letter demanding that they withdraw from the other churches or he would withdraw from them. His threat did not have the desired effect, and he, true to his word, renounced communion with them. But he was not to be silenced. He established a preaching service at his own house. So far did he carry his scruples, that when his wife continued to attend the church he refused, as Cotton Mather tells us, to fellowship with her in religious exercises. But Williams always had his faithful followers. There were those who followed him from Plymouth. Likewise there were those who were true to him in Salem.

It seems that because of the condition of his health, because of the winter, and perhaps for other reasons as well, a stay of his sentence had been granted, allowing him until spring to depart. It seems to have been granted with the tacit understanding that he should refrain from the further propagation of his disagreeable and disrupting opinions. About whether he was supremely conscientious, or plainly self-willed, people differ in their opinions. But it is known that he did not cease preaching.

So it was, that at a meeting of the governor and assistants, held in January, that they were reliably informed that Williams was continuing the meetings in his house, and that he was preaching "even about the points he had been censured for." It was therefore agreed that he should be sent to England on a ship which was about ready to leave. This was decided upon because it was understood that he had gathered about 20 people about him, and that they were likely to follow him to the region of Narragansett Bay where his dangerous ideas might spread and still disturb the Colony. A warrant was sent, ordering him to come to Boston to be shipped. He replied saying that he could not comply without hazard to his life. Accordingly a boat was sent for him, and Captain Underhill was commissioned to take him and carry him aboard the ship, which then lay at Nantasket. But Williams had received word of the plan, and accordingly when they came to his house in Salem, they learned that he had been gone for three days. He had done what they



feared he would do, and what Winthrop seems to have advised him to do. He had gone to the Narragansett country.

People naturally differ widely in their estimate of this kindly and lovable, and yet provoking man. There are those who laud him as a saint and martyr, who stood for the highest principles, and who paid the penalty for the same, through the harshness, bigotry, and cruelty of the ministers and magistrates. He must have had many appealing qualities, for many followed him with affection, and even some of those who noted his weakness and opposed his opinions, blessed God for his services, and maintained friendly attitudes, even after his banishment. This was true of some of those in Plymouth. It was true of no less a personage than Winthrop in the Bay.

But the fault was not entirely one-sided. We are not confronted with a saint on the one hand, and with demons on the other. Williams was flesh and blood; he was man and not God; he had human faults and frailties. The magistrates must be judged by the standards of their day, not of ours. They were narrow, bigoted, severe, cunning, inconsistent and un-Christian. In driving Williams from the Colony they banished one whom the world has come to know and revere. But they were men of character, too, laboring under the handicap of ideas and types of organization which were rapidly becoming antiquated both in church and state. And even the severest critics of the magistrates of Massachusetts must admit that prior to, and in his banishment, the court showed a consideration and leniency which was seldom granted to similar political and religious offenders, either on the continent, the Mother country, or here in the Colony.

Time and space permit only the slightest reference to Williams in Rhode Island, which he founded. We can only record a few impressions of his life and contribution there.

Perhaps the thing which impresses one first and foremost is his attitude toward Massachusetts. It would not have been strange, if after what he considered to be a most harsh and cruel banishment, he had become bitter

and vindictive, and had sought ways and means of retaliating against the Colony. But there is no record of anything of the sort. In fact, when Massachusetts was in imminent danger from the Indians, Williams took great pains to keep the Narragansetts from joining with the Pequods. Furthermore, he persuaded them to ally themselves with the English in Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth, and he sent Winthrop valuable information about the Pequods and their environment. So in this and other ways, if he did not obey the injunction to love his enemies, his attitude and actions ought to have heaped coals of fire on their heads.

Another impression which we cannot escape, is that when Williams was once established in Rhode Island, and represented not the critical minority, but the responsible majority, that he himself became less censorious and critical, and was more constructive and conservative. While there were problems and differences of opinion without end, his love for disputation and argument seems to have been exercised on Mr. Cotton and not so much on his fellow colonists. In fact, not until near the end of his life did the old spirit flare up with the old-time zeal.

The Quakers, along with other persecuted dissenters were welcomed to Rhode Island. Two women once visited him and tried to interest him in their doctrine, but in vain. In one of their meetings which he attended he arose and tried to speak about "the true and the false Christ, the true and the false Spirit." But one of the men began to pray. Then followed a hymn and another prayer, and then the meeting was dismissed. But in 1671 the Quakers were visited by their leader, George Fox, who attracted much attention and caused great excitement. Williams sent a challenge to debate 14 propositions which he laid down. Fox did not receive the challenge until after he had left Rhode Island, so his part was taken by three of the brethren. The fourteen propositions, the debate, and the report of the same which he entitled "George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrowes" were all so bitter and acrimonious that Gov. Cod-



dington denounced him in strong terms, and others whom Williams considered his friends turned against him. But this was only an episode. His prevailing temper was that of consideration and conciliation.

This spirit seems to have come to its completed expression in his kindly and humane dealings with the Indians. They welcomed him as a trusted friend, on his arrival at Narragansett Bay. They gave him land, for which they evidently refused direct payment, although according to William's own words he must have rendered adequate remuneration in the hospitality of his home, and the free use of boats and other appliances.

He took pains, not only to understand them, but to interpret them to others. On his way to England, where he hoped to secure a charter, he wrote a book on the language and customs of the Indians. His combination of grammar and vocabulary, along with interesting information and human-interest stories might well be taken as a precedent by authors of similar texts today. Williams was truly interested in the Indians — not only in their spiritual, but also in their physical welfare. Had all others in the New World been as just and considerate in their attitude, the terrible massacres and the equally dreadful reprisals, would never have been known, and some of the darkest pages in our history, would never have been penned.

We have already hinted at the welcome which Rhode Island gave to persecuted dissenters. In consequence many cranks were attracted to the settlement. The road toward liberty and democracy was by no means smooth, but it should be noted that Williams never receded from his position, and furthermore, he built securely enough, so that the edifice remained.

Among the sects which naturally came to the Narragansett region, were the Anabaptists. It will have been noticed that many of Williams' opinions harmonized with theirs. It is not to be wondered at, that he became sufficiently converted to their position to be re-baptized and unite with them. This, however, was not for long; it was only for three or four months. He was too much

of an individualist to be restrained by their established beliefs. So he left the church, and became what was known as a Seeker.

In speaking of the tolerance of Williams, it is a great mistake to suppose that he was the first to stand for freedom of conscience. Twenty-five years before Williams' birth William of Orange in opposing the persecutions at Middleburg said, "You have no right to trouble yourselves with any man's conscience, so long as nothing is done to cause harm or public scandal." Many others likewise had taken the same position.

In Maryland about the same time religious freedom was granted to those of Christian faith. But so far did Williams go that he welcomed into his Colony, not only Christians of all varieties, but Jews and unbelievers. The wonder is, that at a time when men gave such free expression to their opinions and emotions, that the experiment was able to succeed.

In concluding this paper I wish to present two documents, both of which express in practical form the opinions and ideals of this man whose greatest faults, perhaps, were, that he was persistent, and that he was one hundred years ahead of his times.

The first document is the Compact, drawn up for the earliest government of the settlement. By it the government was to be, by, and for the people, and solely under civil control. The ecclesiastical power was eliminated, not only for the protection of the state, but likewise for the safety of religion.

The Compact reads:

"We whose names are hereunder, desirous to inhabitt in ye towne of Providence, do promise to subject ourselves in active or passive obedience to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for publick good of or body in an orderly way, by the maior consent of the present Inhabitants, maisters of families. Incorporated together into a towne fellowship and others whome they shall admitt unto them, *only in civil things.*"

The second document is a part of the Charter granted in 1663 by Charles II to the Colony. It incorporates



one of the great principles for which Williams had fought and suffered.

"No person within the said Colony, at any time hereafter, shall be any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question for any difference in opinion, in matters of religion, who do not actually disturb the civil peace of our said Colony; but that all and every person and persons, may, from time to time, and in all times hereafter, freely and fully have and enjoy his own and their own judgments and consciences in matters of religious concernments, throughout the tract of land hereinafter mentioned, they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly and not using their liberty to licentiousness and profaneness, nor to the civil injury or outward disturbance of others."

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THE WORSHIPFUL SIMON BRADSTREET,  
GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

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BY GENERAL WILLIAM A. PEW.

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Little more is known concerning the forbears of Simon Bradstreet than that his father came of a good Suffolk family and was a clergyman at Horbling near Boston in Lincolnshire, England. Among the lineal descendants of Simon Bradstreet were Richard H. Dana, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Wendell Phillips, and William Ellery Channing. The lives of these four men might furnish material for a discussion on the theme, "The trees of the Lord are full of sap." The name itself was originally "Bread street."

Simon Bradstreet's contemporaries agree that he was "a superior man in education, in living, and in good breeding." The old records say that "he was a comely and handsome youth." He fenced with skill as became a gentleman. He learned to dance "admirably well" before the Puritans discovered that dancing was a sin. There is no record that he practised dancing in the new world. His portrait hangs in the State House, another in the Essex Institute, and a third in the Council Chamber of the City Hall at Salem. His dress is Puritan, but the face might do duty as that of a Cavalier.

Bradstreet's father was a friend of John Cotton, for many years Vicar of St. Botolph's in Boston, England. Cotton was a learned man who conversed with ease in Latin and Hebrew. As a pulpit orator he was famous, and crowds thronged the ancient church to hear him. In 1635, escaping the persecutions of Archbishop Laud, he fled to New England and became the leading divine in the Colony. His son, Seaborn Cotton, so named because



he was born during the flight across the ocean, married a daughter of Bradstreet.

Besides enjoying familiar intercourse with men of learning who were John Cotton's associates, Bradstreet lived in the families of the Countess of Lincoln and the Countess of Warwick, where he mingled with the social life in the Eastern Counties. At his father's death he was attending the grammar school at Horbling. This death interfered with and postponed his entry into college. Later he matriculated at Cambridge, and although his course was interrupted, he finally received a bachelor's degree, and later a master's degree, from Emmanuel College.

Thomas Dudley, who was steward to the Earl of Lincoln, became his patron. Dudley possessed executive ability and had rescued the Earl's estate from insolvency. Bradstreet was a member of Dudley's family and learned from this patron the business of stewardship. Later, when Dudley removed to Boston, England, Bradstreet succeeded him in his office as steward and was later called into the service of the Countess of Warwick. While living in the Dudley family he fell in love with the daughter, Anne Dudley. She wrote of herself:—

But as I grew up to bee about fourteen or fifteen, I found my heart more carnall and sitting loose from God, vanity and the follys of youth take hold of me.

About sixteen the Lord layd his hand sore upon me and smott mee with the small-pox. When I was in my affliction, I besought the Lord, and confessed my Pride and Vanity and he was entreated of me, and again restored me.

Pride and vanity are more or less associated with a fair face. It is not known if smallpox left a permanent mark on the features of Anne Dudley. For a time at least the disease deformed her countenance. This apparently troubled her lover not in the least, for he insisted upon an early marriage as soon as she was able to leave the sickroom. Perhaps the Lord recompensed his constancy by restoring his wife to her former loveliness. The marriage was happy. The first two years of their married life were spent in England. After their removal to New

England, Anne Bradstreet began to write poetry. A book of her verses was published under the title, "The Tenth Muse, Lately Sprung up in America, by a Gentlewoman in Those Parts." President Rogers of Harvard said that "twice drinking of the nectar of her lines left him weltering in delight."

While living in Ipswich, she wrote a "Letter to her Husband, absent upon some Public employment."

My head, my heart, mine Eyes, my life, my more,  
My joy, my Magazine of earthly store.  
If two be one as surely thou and I,  
How stayest thou there, whilst I at Ipswich lie?

Again she wrote:—

If ever two were one then surely we,  
If ever man were loved by wife, then thee;  
If ever wife was happy in a man,  
Compare with me ye women if you can.  
I prize thy love more than whole Mines of Gold,  
Or all the riches that the East doth hold.

When their first child was born she wrote:—

It pleased God to keep me a long time without a child, which was a great grief to mee, and cost mee many prayers and tears before I obtained one, and after him gave mee many more of whom I now take the care.

Again, in regard to her children:—

I had eight birds hatcht in one nest,  
Four Cocks there were, and Hens the rest;  
I nurst them up with pain and care,  
Nor cost, nor labour did I spare,  
Till at the last they felt their wing,  
Mounted the Trees, and learn'd to sing.

Soon after the marriage of Simon Bradstreet and Anne Dudley, Thomas Dudley and other eminent Puritans met at Cambridge and decided to join in a migration to New England, provided the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company and the government established under it could be transferred to that country. Bradstreet threw in his lot with the Puritan Adventurers. He and his wife embarked with Governor Winthrop in the early spring of



1630, in the "Arbella." Mr. John Humphrey, who was the Deputy Governor, and one of the Assistants, resigned. Thomas Dudley was elected Deputy Governor and Simon Bradstreet was elected Assistant. The office of Assistant was similar to that of a director in a modern corporation. The Assistants are often called Magistrates in the old records. Bradstreet held this office for forty-eight years.

The ship which brought over Winthrop and his associates had been named the "Eagle," but was rechristened "Arbella" in honor of Lady Arbella, daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, who had married Mr. Isaac Johnson and came over in this ship. Before leaving England and while waiting for favorable winds, some of the ladies went on shore and washed their linen, because the "Arbella" did not carry enough fresh water to permit wash-days. The Bradstreets joined the group of gentlefolk who dined with Lady Arbella in the great cabin. The size of the great cabin is not recorded. The ship could carry, besides her crew, about thirty passengers.

On June 12, 1630, the "Arbella" anchored in Salem Harbor. Thomas Dudley wrote after their arrival:—

We found the Colony in a sad and unexpected condition, above eighty of them being dead the winter before; and many of those alive, weak and sick; all the corn and bread amongst them all, hardly sufficient to feed them a fortnight.

Discouraged by the outlook at Salem, the newcomers, leaving the ladies at Salem, set out to explore the Charles and Mystic rivers, and finally joined the settlement at Charlestown. The water-supply at Charlestown being brackish, they removed to Boston. Finally Cambridge was settled upon, and here, at the beginning of winter, the Bradstreets first unpacked their household belongings and attempted to create a home. Their house was a cabin situated on what is now Harvard Square. The winter was passed in misery and privation. The people lived for a part of the time upon clams, mussels, ground-nuts and acorns. In February, 1631, their stock of meal was exhausted on the day that a ship arrived with provisions from England. At the end of the first winter, the worst was passed.

A letter written March 15, 1631, to William Pond, by his son, an emigrant, gives an idea of the hardships endured by the settlers during the first winter. They were ravaged by disease. The necessities of life were scarce and prices exorbitant. The writer complains that he had only water to drink, and intimates an intention of returning to England unless his father sends him a hogshead of unground malt for beer-making. He wrote:—

Peple her ar subjecte to deisesese, for her have deyeid of the scurveye & of the burninge fever neye too hundreid & ode; beside as maney leyethe lame & all Sudbrie men ar ded but thre & three women & sume cheildren, & proviseyones ar her at a wondurfull rat. Wheat mell is xiiij<sup>s</sup> a bushell, & pese x<sup>s</sup>, & mault x<sup>s</sup>, & Einder seid wheat is xv<sup>s</sup> & thare other wheat is x<sup>s</sup>. . . . If theis ship had not cume when it ded we had bine put to a woondurfule straughte, but thanckes be to God for sendinge of it in. I reseyvied from the shipe a hogseite of mell, & the Governor tellethe me of a hundreid waight of chese the wiche I have reseveyd parte of it. I humblie thancke you for it. . . . Tharefor, lovinge father, I wolld intret you that you woold send me a ferckeine of buttr & a hogseit of mault on-ground, for we dreinck notheinge but walltre. . . . Her is no clothe to be had to mack no parell, & shoes are at 5<sup>s</sup> a payer for me, & that clothe that is woorth 2<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup> a yard is woorth her 5<sup>s</sup>. So I pray, father, send me fouer or five yardes of clothe to mack us sume parell, & lovinge father, thoue I be far distante from you yet I pray you remembure me as youer cheield, & we do not know how longe we may subseiste, for we can not live her witheought provyseynes from ould Eingland. Therefore, I pray don not put away youer shope stufe, for I theinck that in the eind, if I live, it must be my leveinge, for we do not know how longe theis plantatyon will stand, for sume of the magnautes that ded uphould it have turned off thare men & have givene it overe. Beseides, God hath tacken away the chefeiste stud in the land, Mr Johnson & the Ladye Arabella his wife, wiche was the cheifeste man of estate in the land and one that woold a don moste good. . . .

We ware wondurfule seick as we cam at sea, withe the small poxe. No man thought that I & my leittell cheildd woold a liveid. My boye is lame & my gurell too, & thar deyeid in the sheip that I cam in xiiij persones.

When Ipswich was settled, Thomas Dudley, Simon Bradstreet, and their families were the leading inhabi-



tants. Bradstreet lived in Ipswich from 1635 to 1644. The site of his dwelling on High Street is marked by a boulder.

In 1638 the General Court gave license to Mr. Bradstreet and others for a plantation at Merrimac. This was the beginning of Andover. Bradstreet was the only member of this settlement who possessed any considerable property. He first lived in a log cabin until the new house was completed, which was the admiration of all. This house was burned in 1666, but was duplicated shortly afterwards as nearly as possible, and still stands, suggesting the possibility of a large hospitality. It faces south, is two full stories high in front, with a sloping roof and a low story at the back. Massive timbers form the frame, and the enormous chimney is in the centre. The fireplaces were originally almost rooms in themselves. These have been reduced in size. Some of the walls are wainscotted and some papered. At the east of the house is a deep hollow through which flows a brook. Beyond the brook rises a hill, on the slope of which the meetinghouse once stood.

Both Simon and Anne Bradstreet were persons of education and refinement. They hated living in a cabin and longed for the amenities of life. As soon as possible they constructed a house suitable to their means and station. They collected a library of some eight hundred volumes in the fine house at Andover, and mourned its loss in the fire which destroyed these books together with family portraits, heirlooms, and furniture brought from England. New fashions and fine clothes found their way to Andover from overseas. The family dressed with as much elegance as the tastes, good sense, and religious principles of the household permitted. A Catholic missionary has left this description of the Governor at a later period: "An old man, quiet and grave, dressed in black silk, but not sumptuously."

According to the standards of today, the personal belongings of a man of property in the seventeenth century were meagre. It is to be noted that in the will of Bradstreet's second wife she left less than a dozen pieces of

silver. Her table furnishings were mostly of pewter and earthenware. There is mention of linen and napkins, but no spoons appear in the will. Her wardrobe and household furniture are disposed of, piece by piece, to relatives and friends. The whole will covers less than one page of paper. We may infer from contemporary accounts that there was no dearth of good things to eat and drink on the Governor's table. These were prepared and served by negro slaves. He mentions two in his will, and his second wife, in hers, gives freedom to a slave, Sarah. The Governor's portrait shows a well-nourished gentleman, although his neighbors say he was abstemious in the taking of food and drink. As he reached the age of ninety-four and never had a twinge of gout, this estimate is probably correct.

Both husband and wife were sweetly reasonable. They pondered upon and discussed their reactions to the circumstances of their new environment. They were unsympathetic with the rough life and brutal judgments of their Puritan neighbors. Speaking of her emigration to America, Anne Bradstreet wrote:

After a short time I changed my condition and was married, and came into this country, where I found a new world and new manners at which my heart rose. But after I was convinced it was the will of God, I submitted to it and joined the church at Boston.

Here we have the record of a rebellious heart condemning the new world and new manners, and its reconciliation to both. There was nothing in the experience of this loving pair which justified heresy-hunting, hanging Quakers and witches, or a belief that the theocratic oligarchy in Massachusetts, of which they were a part, was a gift from Heaven of sovereign power to sovereign men. They knew that many of the clergy were puffed up with vanity and swollen with the conceit of being vessels of the Lord and therefore infallible. So far as the Bradstreets could see, this was a hard world, and their Puritan associates made it harder for those who disagreed with them in doctrine, yet all things were in the hands of Providence. They did not know why the way was rough



and lined with failures; but as they believed it was the will of God, they submitted, joined the church at Boston, and so far as their broad, sympathetic, and catholic spirits permitted, kept in step with the leaders of their generation, sometimes urging them on, often trying to hold them back.

After forty years of happy wedded life, Anne Bradstreet died in the Andover homestead. Simon Bradstreet mourned her loss longer than most Puritan husbands. Four years after her death, at the age of seventy-three, he married the widow of Captain Joseph Gardner of Salem, whose husband had been killed in the attack on the Narragansett fort during King Philip's War. Possibly this second match was not glorified by the romance of love. Bradstreet was a magistrate, a member of the Council of New England, and was to become Governor. He needed a housekeeper and a lady to preside at his table. Marriage was the only solution.

After his marriage to Mistress Gardner, he lived until his death in a house which stood near the present site of the Armory on Essex Street, Salem. The property between the Hawthorne Boulevard and St. Peter Street had belonged to Emmanuel Downing, and the house where Bradstreet died was the property of Bradstreet's second wife, who was the daughter of Emmanuel Downing and a sister of Sir George Downing. On the day of his death, the General Court was in session, and "In consideration of the long and extraordinary services of Simon Bradstreet, late Governor, voted one hundred pounds toward defraying the charges of his interment." He was buried in a tomb in the northwesterly corner of the Charter Street Burying-ground.

Chief Justice Sewall in his diary wrote:—

March 27, 1697 . . . About 10. at night Govr Bradstreet dyes; which we are told of March 29th at Cambridge. . . .

Sixth-day, Apr. 2, 1697 . . . ride to Salem. It rain'd most of the way. . . . From about two *post meridiem*, the wether clear'd and was warm. About 3 was the Funeral; Bearers, Mr. Danforth, Major Gen. Winthrop, Mr. Cook, Col. Hutchinson, Sewall, Mr. Secretary: Col. Gedney and Major Brown led the

Widow; I bore the Feet of the Corps into the Tomb, which is new, in the Old Burying place. . . .

Three Volleys, but no Great Guns, by reason of the Scarcity of Powder. Came home comfortably in the Sunshine.

Upon her death, the second Mrs. Bradstreet was buried in the same tomb. Years ago there were two stories circulating in Salem about the desecration of this tomb. One story was to the effect that someone went through the form of enforcing a mechanic's lien to recover a small amount he had expended in repairing the tomb, and that the tomb was sold to one Daniel Hawthorne, who threw out the Governor and his lady to make room for his own remains and those of his wife. The other story recounts how a Salem Board of Health employed a stupid fellow to clear up the ancient burial-places. This man thought he was hired as an interior decorator, and among other tombs, cleaned out and whitewashed the inside walls of the Bradstreet tomb. The actors in both fables accomplished the same result.

These rumors of desecration caused an inspection to be made by a committee of the city government of Salem. They found a strong brick arch over the vault, and three or four feet of dirt between the arch and the underpinning of the monument. The vault is entered on the easterly side by a flight of steps. Some twelve or fifteen bodies have been buried there. The last was that of Miss Susan Ingersoll. She was a friend of Nathaniel Hawthorne and the mistress of the House of the Seven Gables. Her remains rest in an iron coffin. No one knows the original owner of this tomb. Judge Sewall says that it was new when Governor Bradstreet was buried. Very likely it was presented as a burial-place for the Governor and his lady, and was afterwards used by the families of the various owners. The hospitality of a tomb was not unknown in ancient days.

In the seventh volume of the Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, page 548, there is a note by Mr. Abner C. Goodell to this effect: "After reposing in the tomb for about a century, the Governor's remains were removed and the tomb was sold to Colonel Benjamin



Pickman by the selectmen of Salem. By Pickman it was subsequently conveyed to Hawthorne." Even if the tomb was sold, why the removal of the governor's remains after so many years? It is improbable that the governor's resting-place was ever disturbed except by the hand of time. The Latin epitaph on the slab covering the monument became illegible and has been restored. The first descriptive word in the epitaph is "Armiger"—armor-bearer. When this word occurs after a proper name and in the same line, it is usually translated as "Esquire." Its position and original meaning suggest that it is here used to convey the idea of a gentleman and soldier.

Simon Bradstreet was an Assistant from 1630 to 1678. The inscription on his tomb says that he was a Senator. He was a member of that chamber of the General Court which finally was called the Senate. The separation of the Legislature of Massachusetts into two chambers makes an interesting story. It grew out of a lawsuit concerning Mrs. Sherman's pig. Mrs. Sherman had a pig and a boarder. The boarder appeared in Boston as the representative of English merchants, to solicit orders and undersell the local traders. Captain Keayne, one of the magistrates, championed the cause of the Boston shopkeepers and was influential in putting the boarder out of business. The boarder cherished a grudge against Captain Keayne. One day he saw Mrs. Sherman's pig wander into the Captain's front yard at the corner of State and Devonshire streets in Boston. The Captain discovered the pig and drove it out with some display of temper. The boarder, on several other occasions, steered the same pig into the same yard. Finally the Captain seized the pig, cried it through the town as a stray, and, as it was not claimed, killed it in the fall and added it to his larder. The boarder, who had watched events, reported to the widow, as a rumor, what had become of her pig, and suggested that she call upon the Captain and verify the story. The call was made and the Captain admitted he had eaten the pig. The widow lodged a complaint of larceny against the Captain. He was tried, acquitted, and sued the widow for defamation of

character. He was awarded large damages and the widow appealed to the General Court. Here began political trouble which led to the division of the General Court into two chambers.

Under the charter the affairs of the Colony were to be managed by a Governor, a Deputy Governor, and a Council of eighteen Assistants, to be elected annually by the freemen of the company. They were empowered to make such laws as they liked for their settlers, provided they did not contravene the laws of England. Later, representatives elected by the towns were added to this Council. The Assistants and the local representatives sat as one chamber. When the pig case was heard, the majority of the Assistants voted in favor of Captain Keayne, and the majority of the representatives in favor of Mrs. Sherman. As the representatives outnumbered the Assistants, Mrs. Sherman had a small majority in the total vote. In some way the case was settled, but as an outgrowth of this controversy, the legislature was divided into two bodies, and thereafter all laws had to be passed by the concurrent vote of both chambers. It is not known how Bradstreet's vote was recorded; probably in favor of Mrs. Sherman.

The inscription on the tomb in the Charter Street Burying Ground enumerates some of the offices held by Simon Bradstreet. The slab which covers the tomb is probably too small to name all his honorary positions. Besides being Governor, Deputy Governor, and an Assistant, he was at one time Secretary of the Colony, and at a critical period its agent in London. One important public service was rendered by him as a member of the Federal Commission. He served on this Commission twenty-six years, sometimes its president.

In 1642 Simon Bradstreet and other representatives from the Massachusetts Colony were appointed "to treat with our friends of Connecticut, New Haven and Plymouth about a confederacy between us." This federation was formed and was known as "The United Colonies of New England." Articles of Confederacy were drawn up under date of May 19, 1643. It was agreed that in



everything concerning the common interests of the four colonies, the authority of the Federation was to be exercised by Commissioners. This governing body was made up of two commissioners from each of the four colonies. It acted in an advisory capacity to the general courts in the various colonies. During King Philip's War it assumed extraordinary duties in connection with the conduct of hostilities. This New England confederacy is often referred to as the forerunner of the federation of the United Colonies and of the United States of America. It had its share in preparing men's minds in New England for a greater federation.

During the first few years the political history of Massachusetts was mainly a conflict between the theocratic and democratic spirit inherent in Protestantism. According to the charter all important matters of government were to be determined by the General Court, which was a meeting of the stockholders, or, as they were called, freemen of the corporation. The privilege of voting was limited to stockholders. Only twelve stockholders had come to New England in 1630, and all had been made magistrates. When the first General Court convened in October, 1630, this number had shrunk to eight. This small group of rulers was confronted with a demand from a hundred or more of their fellow settlers to be admitted as freemen. The magistrates admitted them on the understanding that the Assistants and not the freemen should make the laws, elect the Governor, and that the Assistants should hold office during good behavior. This left the freemen only the right to select new Assistants when vacancies occurred. These conditions were in violation of the charter.

In 1632, the Assistants voted a tax for fortifications. Against this levy the town of Watertown protested, on the ground that "it was not safe to pay monies after that sort for fear of bringing ourselves and posterity into bondage." When the next General Court met, the enlarged body voted that the Governor and Assistants should be elected every year, and that every town should elect delegates to act with the Assistants in levying taxes. In

1634, various delegates from the towns met in Boston and demanded to view the charter. A view was granted, and when the General Court met a few days later, the deputies demanded their rightful share in the government according to the charter, and that the General Court, consisting of the Assistants and deputies elected by the freemen in the towns, should alone have the right to levy taxes and make laws. The legality of this demand could not be denied. Representative government was thus established, but the rule of the theocracy was not broken. What appeared to be a republic in principle was still an oligarchy in fact. The freemen admitted were never more than a small part of the population. None but church members were allowed to become freemen. Admission to membership in the church was controlled by the clergy. Church members elected all the officers outside the towns, and the clergy, through their control of the electorate, were able to establish their system of laws, and upon their action, and their action alone, rested everything. This continued until the charter was forfeited.

The Puritan fathers had no intention of establishing democracy in New England. Governor Winthrop said there was no such government in Israel and that "it is amongst civil nations accounted the meanest and worst of all forms of government." Reverend John Cotton agreed with Governor Winthrop. He said: "If the people be governors who shall be governed?" Although the Puritans were opposed to democracy, there were principles and practices in Puritanism which led to its development.

The Bible was the word of God, from which was to be deducted the will of God by the application of pure reason. The appeal to reason was a dominant note in Puritanism. A correct belief, which was a matter of free will, was the basis of man's eternal salvation. If he selected a formula not acceptable to Providence, he was forever damned. We little realize the agonies of the Puritan fathers in their struggle with the problem of free will and the consequences of a failure of reason to guide them to the haven of a saving faith. They made decisions under a terrible pressure of fear.



Free will and the appeal to reason contained the seeds of a growth which was to destroy the oligarchy. The Puritan divines set their faces and political power resolutely against free interpretation of the Scriptures. They claimed that they were the learned interpreters of the Bible, and that their interpretation should be accepted by the people. They planned and built a Bible Commonwealth composed in a large measure of persons of like faith, protected from invasion by their isolation, and guided by the clergy and by magistrates in close sympathy with the clergy.

For a generation the clergy ruled with an iron rod, yet during this period a love of self-government, a desire for freedom and the will to demand it, were steadily growing. The Puritan divines did their best to close the door against free thought, but their appeal to reason had given it such a momentum that the door could not be closed. As time passed, the Colony became more and more involved in a struggle with the Crown. The principle of no taxation without representation was stressed by all classes. This doctrine was another cause contributing to destroy the political strangle-hold of the clergy. Although the Puritan leaders opposed democracy, Puritanism contained beliefs which were the foundation of a free and democratic government.

From the very beginning there was the making of two political parties in the Colony,—the numerically small dominant party, controlled by the clergy and magistrates, and a growing popular party representing the opposition. In the dominant party there was a minority which counselled moderation and tolerance. Bradstreet was the outstanding figure in this minority. He never broke absolutely with his associates in the theocratic oligarchy. He was in accord with their general purpose to lead godly lives, to drive sin from the community, and to acquire greater liberty in administering the affairs of the Colony. He often disagreed with their methods of procedure and was unwilling to associate himself with them in persecutions and in the tactless and unyielding methods by which they attempted to preserve and advance their polit-

ical claims. All these parties were struggling for a larger freedom in one direction or another. Liberty was the theme discussed from the beginnings of Massachusetts.

In 1834 Rufus Choate delivered an address at a celebration of the anniversary of the settlement of the Town of Ipswich. Speaking of the love of freedom in New England, he said:—

From the first, the mother-country complained that we had brought from England, or had found here, *too much liberty*,—liberty inconsistent with prerogatives of the Crown, inconsistent with supremacy of Parliament, inconsistent with the immemorial relations of all colonies to the country from which they sprang,—and she set herself to abridge it. We answered with great submission that we did not honestly think that we had brought or had found much more than half liberty enough; and we braced ourselves to keep what we had, and obtain more when we could;—and so, with one kind of weapon or another, on one field or another, on one class of questions or another, a struggle was kept up from the landing at Plymouth to the surrender at Yorktown. It was all one single struggle from beginning to end; the parties, the objects, the principles, are the same;—one sharp, long, glorious, triumphant struggle for liberty. The topics, the heads of dispute, varied from reign to reign; but though the subjects were various, the question was *one*,—shall the colonists be free?

We appreciate the inspirational value of this address. In the haze of such incense honoring of the founders, we sometimes lose sight of the facts. The other side of the shield has been described recently.

Despite all that has been written of the town-meeting, and the general impression that the average New Englander was almost solely a political and religious animal, there is little evidence to prove that the ordinary man in that section cared any more about government than the ordinary man in Virginia or Maryland. In fact, at a little later period, the more accurate election returns would seem to indicate that he then cared even less. The small minority that ran the government and the churches was naturally active and vocal. But the fact that four-fifths of the people were reasonably content to join no church, and to have no voice in the government, certainly does not argue, in that time and place, any very high degree of



political, religious, or intellectual interest as compared with the rest of America. . . .

Impersonal love of liberty is about as common as uncombined oxygen; and so long as the average man could catch cod, sell whiskey to the Indians, raise crops on land he felt was his own, or stand at his little shop-counter, he did not much care—much as, by way of conversation, he might talk—about the governor in Boston or the king in England. But let him believe that either was threatening his God-given right to accumulate pine-tree shillings, and there would be trouble.

The truth lies between these extremes. In his long years of public service, Bradstreet learned something of human nature. He put in practice what he had learned, to maintain order, protect property, restrain fanaticism, and create a self-governing colony.

There are three episodes in the colonial history of Massachusetts which are considered discreditable from a modern point of view, and in which Simon Bradstreet took part. They are the banishment of Anne Hutchinson, the treatment of the Quakers, and the witchcraft delusion.

In regard to Anne Hutchinson—Bradstreet was a member of the Court that tried and banished her. Anne Hutchinson was a quickwitted and brilliant woman who, in a religious debate, was the peer of any minister. She had a kindly spirit and was noted for her helpful administrations to the sick and needy. She was a sincerely religious woman.

It was a Puritan custom in Boston to hold Thursday meetings, where religious instructions given on the previous Sunday were discussed. Women were allowed to attend but were excluded from debate. The ladies of Boston were as much interested in theology as their husbands. Under the leadership of Mrs. Hutchinson they formed the first woman's club in Massachusetts. Mrs. Hutchinson dominated these meetings by superior learning and skill in debate. By a transposition of the letters of her name, she was called "The Non-Such." For a while she seemed to carry everyone with her. Her meetings were spoken of as "religious gossipings." They were

popular among the ladies and were encouraged by the clergy, until Mrs. Hutchinson began to criticise their sermons and the character of the ministers. In the course of time she publicly condemned most of the clergy and insisted that they had not a "thorough furnishing" for their work.

We may read the following comment on her meetings:—

In the assemblies which were held by the followers of Mrs. Hutchinson, there was nourished and trained a keen, contentious spirit, and an unbridled license of tongue, of which the influence was speedily felt in the serious disturbance, first of domestic happiness, and then of the public peace. The matrons of Boston were transformed into a synod of slanderous praters, whose inquisitorial deliberations and audacious decrees, instilled their venom into the innermost recesses of society; and the spirits of a great majority of the citizens being in that combustible state in which a feeble spark will suffice to kindle a formidable conflagration, the whole Colony was influenced and distracted by the incontinence of female spleen and presumption.

Out of Mrs. Hutchinson's meetings grew the phrases, "Covenant of Grace" and "Covenant of Works." Winthrop wrote that "no man could tell (except some few who knew the bottom of the matter) where any difference was." In 1636 people were in a war of words with one another about these phrases. Some of the militia refused to take the field because their chaplain did not maintain sound religious views in reference to the subject of this controversy, and even children in the streets jeered at one another as believers in one covenant or the other.

In the end Anne Hutchinson was trampled upon by the clergy and banished as unsavory salt. Her trial was conducted with heat and virulence. She was denounced as an "American Jezebel." The Court which tried her consisted of Governor Winthrop, Dudley, Endicott, Bradstreet, Nowell, and Stoughton. Bradstreet was the only member who treated the defendant with courtesy. He told Mrs. Hutchinson that she ought to forbear her meetings because they gave offence; and when she interposed a plea of conscience, he replied that he was not against



all women's meetings and even considered them to be lawful, but still they should be avoided as matters disturbing the public peace.

The ministers faced her with vindictiveness and cruelty. A poem written by Dudley just before his death contains the following lines, which suggest the spirit with which he approached the trial of Anne Hutchinson.

Let men of God in Courts and Churches watch  
O're such as do a Toleration hatch,  
Lest that ill Egg bring forth a Cocatrice  
To poison all with Heresie and Vice.

This controversy shook the Colony to its very centre, and Bradstreet thought that in the interest of peace and good order it was wise to banish this woman of lovely character and spotless living, whose deepest fault was a contentious spirit and a too enthusiastic belief in her own inspiration. Bradstreet's vote was the expression of his conscience in the discharge of the duties of a magistrate. He was appointed to hear and determine this cause and by his judgment to assist in maintaining the purity and unity of the Protestant faith as expressed in the dogmas and practices of the Puritan Church in New England.

Heresy-hunting did not appeal to Bradstreet as a noble occupation. He found the people swept from Christian fellowship into an orgy of debate and passion about a doctrine that few understood and no one could prove. The phrases used in this controversy are no clue to the teachings of Mrs. Hutchinson. The point in controversy concerned the indwelling of the Holy Ghost, the nature of the union and its effect. Mrs. Hutchinson seems to have taught that the Comforter enters into the soul of a Christian to such an extent that individuality is destroyed by being absorbed into the spirit of Christ. This is a kind of Nirvana, more Buddhistic than Christian. Bradstreet probably thought that such a doctrine was an over-belief which ought to harm no one, but he clearly saw that Mrs. Hutchinson was anathema to the clergy.

The debates started by Mrs. Hutchinson led to public disorders. One side or the other had to go to the wall. The idea of compromise was foreign to the Puritans.

Bradstreet joined his associates in applying the only cure which seemed practical, the elimination of Mrs. Hutchinson. His decision was sane, and, as a matter of fact, quieted grave dissensions and restored tranquillity in the Colony at a time when social solidarity was necessary to meet a threatened war with the Indians and the enmity of the home government. Mrs. Hutchinson's tragic death could not have been foreseen by the Court that banished her. She first went to Rhode Island, but finally removed to a Dutch settlement in Western Connecticut. She there led a quiet life, until she and her whole family were massacred by the Indians.

In regard to the Quakers, the Federal Commission for New England early recommended to the several legislatures of the Confederacy the imposition of the death penalty upon returning Quakers who had been banished. Bradstreet alone refused to join in this recommendation. Massachusetts passed such a law. Bradstreet believed the death penalty too severe, voted against this law, and was influential in repealing it. This attitude exposed him to vitriolic abuse by the fanatics who troubled Massachusetts with their presence. These people were not gentle folk, the words of whose mouths were always acceptable. Their abuse of the magistrates was often scandalous and provocative. It would be unwise for a litigant before the Supreme Court, even in this day of toleration, to address the judges as they did.

The following is an example of Quaker abuse. It was applied to Governor Prence of Plymouth:

Thomas Prence, thou who hast bent thy heart to work wickedness, and with thy tongue hast set forth deceit; thou imaginest mischief upon thy bed, and hatchest thy hatred in thy secret chamber; the strength of darkness is over thee, and a malicious mouth hast thou opened against God and his anointed and with thy tongue and lips hast uttered perverse things; thou hast slandered the innocent by railing, lying and false accusations, and with thy barbarous heart hast thou caused their blood to be shed. . . .

Such language did not tend to soften the hearts of



Puritan magistrates but confirmed them in the conviction that the Quakers were a seditious set and ought to be suppressed. Besides railing at and reviling the magistrates and clergy, the Quakers enacted little dramas to illustrate the errors of Puritanism. Thomas Newhouse went into a meetinghouse at Boston during a religious service, with a couple of glass bottles which he broke before the congregation, declaring, "Thus will the Lord break you in pieces." Deborah Wilson paraded Essex Street in Salem naked as she came into the world, for which she was well whipped. One of her sect, apologizing for this behavior, said, "If the Lord did stir up any of his daughters to be a sign of the nakedness of others, he believed it to be a great cross to a modest woman's spirit, but the Lord must be obeyed."

The Quakers whose presence in Massachusetts aroused the wrath and intolerance of the clergy were a few fanatics whose supreme desire was to attain fellowship with Christ in suffering. They found in Endicott, Dudley, and Norton forces which satisfied these cravings and furnished all the persecution necessary for salvation. They were looking for trouble and found the supply abundant in Boston.

The attitude of Rhode Island in the treatment of Quakers has often been compared with that of Massachusetts, to the disparagement of the Bay Colony. The authorities at Providence condemned what they called the "extravagant outgoings" of the turbulent Quakers. Governor Hutchinson, in his History, quotes a letter from the government of that Colony concerning the Quakers, addressed to the General Court at Boston. The letter is signed, among others, by "Benedict Arnold, President," grandfather of the revolutionary general of the same name. In it they say:—

And as concerning these quakers (so caled) which are now among us, we have no law among us whereby to punish any for only declaring by words, &c. their mindes and understandings concerning the things and ways of God, as to salvation and an eternal condition. And we, moreover, finde, that in those places where these people aforesaid, in this colony, are most

of all suffered to declare themselves freely, and are only opposed by arguments in discourse, there they least of all desire to come, and we are informed that they begin to loath this place, for that they are not opposed by the civil authority, but with all patience and meekness are suffered to say over their pretended revelations and admonitions, nor are they like or able to gain many here to their way; and surely we find that they delight to be persecuted by civil powers, and when they are so, they are like to gain more adherents by the consequence of their patient sufferings, than by consent to their pernicious sayings. And yet we conceive, that their doctrines tend to very absolute cutting down and overturning relations and civil government among men, if generally received.

The persecution of the Quakers was at its height under Governor Endicott. Upon the restoration of the Stuarts in 1660, Charles II sent a letter to Endicott, ordering him to suspend proceedings against the Quakers, and if any of them were then in prison, to send them to England for trial. The story of Endicott's reception of this command is told by Whittier in his poem entitled, "The King's Missive." The letter was brought to the Governor by a returning Quaker who had been banished. On receiving the royal order,

He turned to the Quaker, bowing low—  
 "The King commandeth your friends release,  
 Doubt not he shall be obeyed, although  
 To his subject's sorrow and sin's increase.  
 What is here enjoined John Endicott,  
 His loyal servant, questioneth not.  
 You are free! God grant the spirit you own  
 May take you from us to parts unknown."

\* \* \* \* \*

So passed the Quakers through Boston town  
 Whose painful ministers sighed to see  
 The walls of their sheep-fold falling down,  
 And wolves of heresy prowling free.  
 But the years went on and brought no wrong;  
 With milder counsels the State grew strong,  
 As outward Letter and inward Light  
 Kept the balance of truth aright.

This may be poetry, but is not history. Many Quakers when opposed became turbulent, but when left unmolested



by penal regulations, they settled down to a quiet, orderly life, and became the most peaceful, industrious, and moral of all religious sects. The best Puritan thought in England condemned "banishment for conscience." Sir George Downing, soon to become brother-in-law of Bradstreet, wrote, "It makes us stinke everywhere."

So many complaints had been made to Charles II touching the conduct of the Bay Colony, and especially their treatment of the Quakers, that it was decided in 1662 to send Simon Bradstreet and the Reverend John Norton as colonial agents to England to modify the wrath of the king. Just before sailing, Mr. Norton was overcome with fear and fell into a serious sickness, but after much praying his courage was restored, and the commissioners sailed from Boston, February 11, 1662. This mission was one of delicacy, and likely to prove of personal peril to the commissioners. Mr. Norton had been a leading figure in the persecution of the Quakers, and Bradstreet, as one of the magistrates and as a representative of the Colony in England, came in for a share of the general abuse leveled against Massachusetts by the Quakers. A movement was started to commit the commissioners for trial while in England, but it came to naught.

The mission was successful in that it postponed the revocation of the charter, but the commissioners brought home many royal instructions which were distasteful to the clergy of Massachusetts, who had hoped for larger concessions from the king than the ratification of the charter. The commission was received in Massachusetts with charges of unfaithfulness. The issue of this mission was fraught with so much annoyance and loss of esteem that it is said to have shortened the life of Mr. Norton. We are told: "Norton died under rebuff, but Mr. Bradstreet, who had more firmness and who was better acquainted with the perversities of men's humor, conscious that he had not intentionally compromised the honor of the colony, bore these rebuffs with unshaken composure."

When the fury of the witchcraft delusion broke upon the community, Bradstreet had ceased to be governor and was living in Salem. During his term as governor,

a Mrs. Elizabeth Morse was convicted in Suffolk of being a witch, and was sentenced to death. The Governor did not allow this sentence to be carried out. In the end the lady died a natural death. The Governor's leniency was not due to the fact that he did not believe that witches existed. There was authority for this belief in the Scriptures and in the laws of all civilized nations, which at that time recognized witchcraft as a crime. The Governor's difficulty lay in proof of the offence. He did not know what kind of evidence was competent, relevant, and material.

An expression of contemporary opinion, showing Bradstreet's attitude toward the witchcraft craze, is found in a copy of a letter written by Mr. Thomas Brattle, dated October 8, 1692, and published in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the year 1798. Mr. Brattle visited Salem for the purpose of studying the witchcraft trials at first hand. In his letter he repeatedly refers to the ignorance and superstition of the "S. G." He tells his correspondent that these initials stand for "Salem Gentlemen." Inasmuch as five of the eight judges who presided at the witchcraft trials came from Suffolk, these initials might with equal propriety refer to the ignorance and superstition of Suffolk Gentlemen.

Mr. Brattle says:

The chief judge is very zealous in these proceedings, and says, he is very clear as to all that hath as yet been acted by this court, and, as far as ever I could perceive, is very impatient in hearing any thing that looks another way. I very highly honour and reverence the wisdom and integrity of the said judge, and hope that this matter shall not diminish my veneration for his honour; however, I cannot but say, my great fear is, that wisdom and counsel are withheld from his honour as to this matter. . . .

But although the chief judge, and some of the other judges, be very zealous in these proceedings, yet this you may take for a truth, that there are several about the Bay, men for understanding, judgment and piety, inferior to few, if any, in New England, that do utterly condemn the said proceedings and do freely deliver their judgment in the case to be this, viz. that these methods will utterly ruin and undo poor New England. I shall nominate some of these to you, viz. The Hon.



Simon Bradstreet, Esq. (our late governor); the Hon. Thomas Danforth, Esq. (our late deputy-governor); the Rev. Mr. Increase Mather, and the Rev. Mr. Samuel Willard. Major N. Saltonstall, Esq. who was one of the judges, has left the court, and is very much dissatisfied with the proceedings of it.

The disturbed condition of England during the civil wars and the insignificance of the Colony allowed it to maintain itself for some time in virtual independence. Theoretically, New England, by virtue of its discovery was the private property of the sovereign. It was the voluntary act of the king, expressed in the charter, which gave the colonists any right at all. From the very beginning the charter had been contested by some who claimed that it was in violation of previous royal grants. Under Charles II this contest became acute.

In 1683, when a demand came from Charles II that Massachusetts should make full submission and resign its charter to the pleasure of the king, a town meeting was held at Boston which was addressed by Increase Mather, who was invited to give the meeting his thoughts on the Case of Conscience before them. He said, in part:—

I verilly Believe, We shall Sin against the GOD of Heaven if we vote an Affirmative. . . . Nor would it be Wisdom for us to Comply. We know, David made a Wise Choice, when he chose to fall into the Hands of GOD rather than into the Hands of Men. If we make a full Submission and entire Resignation to Pleasure, we shall fall into the Hands of Men Immediately. But if we do it not, we still keep ourselves in the Hands of God; we trust ourselves with His Providence; and who knows, what GOD may do for us.

The above is the burden of a political speech made at a Boston town meeting. It harks back to the ancient belief in corporate responsibility. This kind of responsibility was recognized by the Puritans. Many considered King Philip's War a punishment to the Colony because they had displeased God in their corporate capacity by failing to persecute the Quakers more vigorously.

About this speech of his father, Cotton Mather wrote:

Upon this pungent Speech, many of the Freemen fell into Tears; and there was a General Acclamation, We thank you,

Syr! We thank you, Syr! The Question was upon the Vote carried in the Negative, Nemine Contradicente. And this Act of Boston had a great influence upon all the Country.

In this contest between Crown and Colony, Bradstreet stood against the uncompromising position as expressed by Increase Mather. He had been in England, and understood the imperial policy of the king and his advisers toward the Colony, and appreciated the futility of resisting the home government if it became resolved to vacate the Massachusetts charter. He had been a member of one mission which succeeded in preventing this catastrophe by the exercise of good judgment. He was the only Puritan magistrate in his generation noted for zeal and moderation—zeal to further the interests of his countrymen; moderation in balancing the rights of Crown and people, to the end that by tact and persuasion they might retain the charter. His moderation was often reckoned as weakness. The Mathers and their associates thought Bradstreet too hesitating and accused him of being slow. It took courage for a Puritan magistrate to maintain this position in his party in opposition to the great body of the clergy. However unpopular his advice made Bradstreet with his associates, he counselled moderation. His advice was not followed.

Massachusetts fought to save the charter—always courageous, intolerant, and never yielding an iota of what she considered her rights. The contest lasted until 1684, when the English Court of Chancery vacated the charter.

There are two sons of Essex County who in their time were great advocates—Rufus Choate and Caleb Cushing. They were great advocates because they saw both sides of a question. As statesmen they failed, because people are loath to follow a leader who can see more than one side. Bradstreet had the broadmindedness of Choate and Cushing. For a time his prestige waned, but the rejection of his advice was so quickly followed by the loss of the charter, that everyone realized that if they had followed Bradstreet's counsel they could not have been in a worse position, and might have retained many of their ancient rights and privileges.

Toward the end of his life the great services of Brad-



street in this contest were appreciated. Cotton Mather speaks of him in the *Magnalia* as "The Nestor of New England" and "The Father of his Country." This was praise from the leading divine in Boston, who, in the heat of the controversy between Crown and people, often condemned the broad sympathies of Bradstreet and his willingness to compromise with what Mather considered the forces of evil.

Bradstreet was Governor when the charter was vacated. Upon the revocation of the charter he was retired from office, and his brother-in-law, Joseph Dudley, was made temporary president of New England, in which office he served until the arrival of Sir Edmund Andros, who succeeded Dudley and became our first royal Governor. Under the new administration Simon Bradstreet was nominated one of the counsellors. He refused to accept the office. From December, 1685, to April 19, 1689, the government of all New England under Governor Andros was an undisguised and intolerant despotism. The whole body of colonial laws and customs which had been adopted was ignored. New laws were made, taxes assessed without popular vote, and an administration all new and vexatious introduced.

When, on April 4, 1689, news came to Boston that the Prince of Orange had landed in England, the people of Massachusetts were ready to revolt. At this time no rumor of what was taking place in England, except the landing of the Prince of Orange, had reached New England. Bradstreet, who had hitherto counselled moderation, put himself at the head of the revolt, well knowing that if the Stuarts prevailed, this action would bring him to the gallows.

I have said that Bradstreet showed courage in counselling moderation and standing against the eloquence and influence of the clergy of Massachusetts. When the time for action came, the clergy were praying while Bradstreet led the trained bands in action against Andros. He was almost ninety years old when he met the deputation which came to consult him, and he set his hand as the first signature to a proclamation which was a declaration of independence. On the 19th of April, 1689, "about nine

of the clock, the drums beat through the town and an ensign was set up upon the beacon."

Bancroft tells how the militia, led by Bradstreet, marched up King Street to the Old State House.

Just then the Governor of the Colony, in office when the charter was abrogated, Simon Bradstreet, glorious with the dignity of four-score years and seven, one of the early emigrants, a magistrate in 1630, whose experience connected the oldest generation with the new, drew near the town-house, and was received with a great shout from the free men. The old magistrates were reinstated, as a council of safety; the whole town rose in arms, with the most unanimous resolution that ever inspired a people. . . . On Charlestown side, a thousand soldiers crowded together; and the multitude would have been larger if needed. The governor, vainly attempting to escape to the frigate, was, with his creatures, compelled to seek protection by submission; through the streets where he had first displayed his scarlet coat and arbitrary commission, he and his fellows were marched to the town-house and thence to prison. All the cry was against Andros. The castle was taken; the frigate was mastered; the fortifications occupied.

Once more Massachusetts assembled in general court, and the old man, whose blood could still tingle at wrong, was called again to the chair of state.

No deed of any Puritan brought more public honor than this act of Bradstreet's against Andros, whose tyranny had aroused the men of New England to protest and revolt. Simon Bradstreet shares with George Washington the unique distinction of deposing and sending overseas a governor of Massachusetts.

A footnote in the second edition of Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts states that at this time "Mr. Bradstreet was eighty-seven years of age. . . . His venerable presence was necessary, but his time for business was over." This is an intimation that Bradstreet was used as scenery, to give respectability to this revolution. Even so, when Governor Andros looked over the palisades of his fortification on Fort Hill and saw the guns of his captured shore battery trained on his stronghold, he realized that Bradstreet behind those guns was scenery more persuasive than respectable.

During this administration, Bradstreet carried on a



war with the Indians in Maine, captured Port Royal, and extended the northern boundary of Massachusetts to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. He fitted out an expedition against Quebec, which failed through the lack of co-operation of another force which was to proceed from Albany against Montreal. The soldiers returned to Boston clamoring for pay. This debt was cancelled by an issue of paper money which was redeemed. During these years the clerical party was struggling against much opposition for a restoration of former conditions under a new charter. The administration of the Colony under such circumstances was difficult and troublesome. Bradstreet remained calm and unperturbed until he retired from office in his ninetieth year. His long public service led a Salem wag to observe: "Think what the old man might have done if he had only lived to be two hundred." Perhaps his spirit did live in Wendell Phillips and William Ellery Channing.

Epitaphs as a rule are not reliable. The inscription on Bradstreet's monument in the Charter Street Burying-ground tells the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. It is not known who composed the Latin, but the author had an historical sense and knew the worth of the Governor to his day and generation.

This inscription may be freely translated:

#### SIMON BRADSTREET

Gentleman and Soldier, Senator in the Colony of Massachusetts from 1630 to 1673. Then, until 1679, Deputy Governor, and finally, until 1686, Governor of the Colony by the united and unchanging vote of the people. In judgment, he was as farsighted as Lynceus. Wealth and honor had for him no allurements. He kept an even balance between the authority of the king and the liberty of the people. Of temperate judgment in religion, of blameless life, he overcame the world and left it on March 27, 1697, in the third year of King William, the 9th month, and the 94th year of his age.

## THE BIBLE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

BY WILLIAM ANDREWS PEW.

My theme is the Bible Commonwealth of Massachusetts, which lasted from 1630 until the first charter was revoked in 1684. The government of this Bible Commonwealth was based upon the royal charter which gave to the stockholders of a business corporation the control of their plantations in Massachusetts and authorized them to enlarge their membership at will and to make laws for the management of their prudential affairs, provided such laws were not inconsistent with the laws of England.

I have divided my theme into four parts:

- I. The Theological Background.
- II. The Political Background.
- III. The Founding of the Bible Commonwealth.
- IV. Seeds of Home Rule in Puritanism.
- V. The Emancipation of Massachusetts from Clerical Control.

I. *The Theological Background.* Many persons have found a paradox in the early strivings of the Puritans to purchase happiness in the hereafter by good conduct in this world, in view of their belief that they were fore-ordained, by a Sovereign God, either to heaven or perdition, and that it was beyond human power to change this status. Probably some Puritans considered righteousness a kind of insurance premium paid now for protection against fire hereafter, but this was not the philosophy of Calvinism.

The early Puritan settlers in Massachusetts had various motives for trying to be good. They were Englishmen before they were Puritans, and as Englishmen had acquired habits of law and order which they found satisfactory.

The establishment of a Commonwealth in the wilderness was an experiment which they believed could not suc-



ceed without the blessing of heaven. To secure that blessing, it was the patriotic duty of every citizen so to regulate his life as not to offend the Deity. The leaders found in the Bible many examples of the wrath of Jehovah against the Jewish nation for the transgressions of individuals. They did not propose to take any chances by permitting individual offenders to get the Commonwealth into trouble. Upon this notion of corporate responsibility was based their reaction to Quakers, Baptists, and other violators of law.

Their dominant motive—to which I invite your attention—was the reverent and intense curiosity displayed by the Puritans to penetrate the mystery of the hereafter.

This allegation about curiosity as a motive seems strange until we link it with Puritan beliefs. The Puritans were Calvinists and held to the doctrine of foreordination. The outstanding feature of this theology is the total depravity of man, in consequence of which every soul is condemned in the next world to eternal torture. The explanation is associated with the fall of Adam and Eve for conduct in the Garden of Eden. These progenitors were created with free wills. The episode of the apple destroyed their spiritual digestion, so that they could no longer assimilate the Divine will. In some way, because of this sin they and their descendants became impotent to adjust their wills to the will of God. As a consequence the race was doomed to labor in this world and their outlook in the next was unattractive. To better this lot, God, as an act of grace, predestined certain persons to eternal salvation; the rest of mankind was elected to everlasting punishment. No one could do anything to influence the divine choice. The struggle of the Puritan to attain a righteous life seems paradoxical in view of this belief. He could do nothing to ensure salvation, but he was deeply moved to know his status in the next world, and to find a test by which he could discover whether he was numbered among the elect. If he could assure himself that he had acquired the lost power to conform to the divine will, he felt confident that he was foreordained to eternal happiness.

It was assumed that God had a way of doing everything, even to the minutest details of daily life. The Puritan divines in Massachusetts once declared against wearing long hair as contrary to the rule of God's word. Roger Williams convinced the women of Salem that it was their duty to cover themselves with veils when they went abroad, which all did, until the Reverend John Cotton, preaching one Sunday morning in Salem, enlightened their minds from the Scriptures and proved to them that God intends veils to be worn by maidens, harlots, and widows. Between the morning and afternoon service there was a great scrapping of veils in Salem. The Puritan had little difficulty in discovering the Divine will. It was declared in the Bible, every word of which was inspired.

During the great emigration to New England, between 1630 and 1640, over one hundred clergymen came over. They were earnest and godly men, nearly all graduates of Cambridge University, the English training school of Puritans. Many knew Latin, Greek, and Hebrew and could expound the Scriptures from the original texts. Their prestige among the first generation of Puritans was supreme. They could and did interpret the Bible to the satisfaction of their flocks. As the Divine will entered into every detail of life the clergy were experts in some phase of everything. They advised with the magistrates and the General Court about government in all its activities, and in the early days their advice was generally followed.

When the Puritan discovered God's will, he had a measuring stick for his thoughts, feelings, and actions. By walking discreetly and by a continual and close introspection he discovered whether he had regained the power, lost in the fall of man. If this power had come back, he felt assured that he had been chosen and that his soul was numbered among the elect.

It is obvious that such a philosophy would tempt men unconsciously to force themselves to conform to standards. The leaders of the Puritans recognized this danger



and it often caused them periods of depression and uncertainty.

In the Puritan mind there was always a struggle between the self he wished to be and the self he was. By a system of intensive training he subordinated his thoughts, emotions, and desires to a great ideal. He was conscious of a creative impulse which ever held before him a desire to make in life one masterpiece — himself. Failure to attain perfection was sin. In his glorified moments he heard the voice of God. It raised him above fear and corruption and bound him, a willing slave, in the iron bands of discipline. The Puritan discipline was not modest in its demands. Proof of election was found in an intensive training which involved the organization of all thinking, feeling, and willing.

New learning and criticism have well-nigh abolished Calvinistic beliefs, but they never can detract from the value of Puritan discipline, as long as this is a world of law and order. Law and order imply rules, a right and a wrong way of doing things — standards set and attained by practice.

The need of discipline is as strong to-day as ever. The worth-while discipline is the same inner compulsion which nerved the fathers to lay the foundations of what they believed was a Bible Commonwealth. Within the framework of their theology were practices of eternal value.

The doctrine that salvation is free and can be attained by anyone never entered the minds of the Puritan clergy. Until we grasp this point we have no basis for estimating their functions as they understood them. Their call was to interpret the Divine will.

First as to the elect. In the history of the Roman church a celebrated Bishop in North Africa had to decide whether the church was a congregation of saints or of sinners candidates for salvation. Out of a tender regard for human nature, he chose quantity in preference to quality. The Puritans solved the same problem by declaring their church to be composed of saints. The work of the clergy was not evangelical in the modern sense. They

felt no call to save sinners. The status of every soul in the hereafter had been established by the divine decree of foreordination before the beginning of time. All that the clergy could do was to furnish to the elect knowledge of the Divine will.

Second. They felt a call to preach to the unregenerate because their conduct might provoke the wrath of God and endanger public well-being. As Sodom and Gomorrah might have been saved by one righteous man, so Massachusetts might be destroyed by the nefarious practice of one sinner. When the clergy talked to the unregenerate they preached the omnipotence of the moral law and stressed the fact that righteousness exalteth a nation and sin destroyeth it.

Third. The clergy had not been furnished with a list of the elect. It was good policy to disseminate knowledge of God's will if perchance it might help some individual who did not know that his name was written in the book of life.

With this background one can understand how the instincts of curiosity and self-preservation awakened in the Puritan an intense desire to penetrate the mystery of death and to discover the standing of his soul in the great hereafter. To discover the will of God and test his power to conform to it was the absorbing interest of life. It was a joy to listen to long sermons and thereby acquire a knowledge of the way, which was a spiritual yardstick by which he tested his own chances of salvation. If he measured up to the standards, a sweet sense of security enraptured him. He felt enrolled in the aristocracy of the elect, a noble by Divine appointment, and thereby raised above all worldly fears and corruptions. This religious experience was an enlightenment. In an intellectual analysis to discover whether he was among the elect or damned, the Puritan ever held before himself a standard of perfection. His whole interest was to discover if he had attained that goal. His intense longing inhibited thoughts and actions which interfered with the desired solution, and committed him to habits which produced his character. Convinced of his election he was



thrilled with dynamic energy to be a worthy soldier in all the purposes of his Sovereign God. Discipline was a joy and the Divine will his sole guide.

It makes little practical difference to the world whether correct behavior is the test or the fruit of salvation. We are interested in having others do the best things in the best way. Everything which prevents this is probably sin, in varying degrees of culpability. What we demand of others, the Puritan took upon himself, and carried on, shunning everything as sin which was not enjoined by God as His way to perfection. As a method of character-building the system has never been surpassed. Upon this theology the Bible Commonwealth was founded.

II. *The Political Background of the Bible Commonwealth.* For a number of years the Puritan party in England had steadily grown in numbers until in 1629 it contained a working majority in the House of Commons. On March 2, of that year, King Charles I ordered the Speaker of the House to prorogue Parliament. A motion was offered by a Puritan member to the effect that whoever proposed taxation without the consent of the Commons was a traitor to the nation. The clerk refused to read the motion and the speaker attempted to leave the chair. He was forcibly held in place, while a Puritan member put the question. It was carried by an enthusiastic majority just as the doors of the House were forced by retainers of the king, and Parliament was dissolved, not to meet again for eleven years. The king sent nine Puritan leaders to the Tower. This sudden catastrophe turned the thoughts of many Puritans to emigration as an opportunity of practising pure forms of worship in distant lands far from persecution.

The opening years of the seventeenth century had seen great activity in the planting of English colonies. Overpopulation, the high cost of living, labor adjustments necessary to meet changing conditions of industry, and the desire on the part of merchants to prosper by the trade and commerce of colonies, were the economic motives behind these movements. Many of the adventurers who

financed these enterprises were Puritans. They had plantations in Bermuda and in several islands of the West Indies, in addition to a patent for Massachusetts and a plantation at Salem.

The claim of New England as a home for Puritan emigrants was urged by the Reverend John White, often called "The Father of New England." The matter was debated, and finally it was concluded by several gentlemen to transport themselves to New England as settlers, provided the charter and government of the Massachusetts colony could be transferred from England to New England. This was agreed to by the Massachusetts Company. The old officers resigned and a new set were elected from among those who promised to emigrate. In 1630, John Winthrop as Governor led a group of more than one thousand settlers to Massachusetts Bay.

III. *The Founding of the Bible Commonwealth.* The charter which Winthrop brought over was that of a business corporation under which the freemen (or stockholders as I prefer to call them) elected the officers and directors. Less than a dozen stockholders came to New England. They had elected themselves directors before leaving England. The mass of emigrants were not stockholders and had no vote in the management of the colony. The few stockholders in Massachusetts were immediately confronted with the demand by the heads of practically every family, to be admitted as stockholders. To refuse might precipitate a revolt, and to enlarge membership might endanger control by the leaders. To meet this dilemma, the stockholders enlarged their membership by admitting new members, but limited the selection to approved church members. The franchise was thus extended, but as admission to the churches was in the hands of the clergy, a theocratic oligarchy resulted, and Massachusetts for a generation was ruled by the clergy and magistrates in close sympathy with the clergy. A great majority of the adult male population was disfranchised.

The theocratic oligarchy planned to establish a Bible Commonwealth. If they had adopted a motto it would



have been, "The Lord is our law giver." They found authority for everything in the Scriptures, from which they formulated codes of conduct to be taught in homes, schools, and churches, and enforced by zealous magistrates. They tried to make people good by legislation and passed laws in abundance to punish the vicious and deter others from evil ways. A brilliant and learned clergy, by example and precept, sought continually and earnestly to establish an environment in which a knowledge of God's ways would become a common possession. They stimulated their hearers to sober introspection and self-examination, to discover whether they had attained the perfection of living which justified a conviction of personal salvation. Such was the inspiration behind the theocratic oligarchy which founded the Bible Commonwealth.

IV. *Seeds of Home Rule in Puritanism.* The Puritan leaders were sometimes accused of secretly desiring separation from the mother country. The accusation was unjust. They were entirely English in heart and in mind. They desired great freedom, but always within the Commonwealth of England. Massachusetts was the first colony to demand rights now conceded by Crown and Parliament to all English-speaking colonies in the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Puritan leaders thought that their charter created in New England a kind of government akin to that now established in the Irish Free State. These aspirations had deeper roots than the charter. They are implicit in six hundred years of English political thought. Three hundred years before the Puritan emigration, the Pope's representatives met the Barons of England and demanded the repeal of certain English statutes. The Barons took the matter under advisement and answered, "Nolemus leges Angliae mutare." It was a declaration of self-determination. This desire for home rule was carried across the Atlantic and planted in New England. Whenever that issue was raised, the colonists stood as a unit in defence of what they believed was constitutional liberty under the royal charter. Their re-

sistance was audacious and courageous. To quote the words of Rufus Choate:

"From the first, the mother-country complained that we had brought from England, or had found here, too much liberty,—liberty inconsistent with the prerogatives of the Crown, inconsistent with supremacy of Parliament, inconsistent with the immemorial relations of all colonies to the country from which they sprang,—and she set herself to abridge it. We answered with great submission that we did not honestly think that we had brought or had found much more than half liberty enough; and we braced ourselves to keep what we had, and obtain more when we could."

The theocratic oligarchy was a form of home rule. Its spirit of home rule persisted and bore fruit after a hundred years in that state of mind which prompted a Boston merchant to reply, when asked why he made such a fuss about a little tax on tea: "Tea!" he said, "we don't care a damn about tea. We have a notion that we can govern Massachusetts better from Boston than you can govern it from London."

The Puritans stood for the doctrine of self-determination which was gradually to change the aspect of the world. They groped after the truth. Ideas of freedom which are self-evident to this generation were to them strange and questionable. They could not be reasonable with the reason of the twentieth century. They floundered and muddled toward fundamentals of government, much as modern statesmen are groping toward a formula which will make war ridiculous and impossible.

V. *The Fall of the Bible Commonwealth.* Oligarchies do not perpetuate themselves. They must be supported by force, wealth, or public sentiment. The New England oligarchy lacked the necessary force to be thorough. Some of the early Puritan leaders like Dudley, Endecott, and Norton were not adverse to inflicting severe penalties. We have fines, whippings, and brandings in abundance and some hangings as examples to preserve the purity of the faith. If the leaders had been supported



by an army their suppression might have been efficient, but under the circumstances it was irritating and helped create a public opinion in Massachusetts and in England hostile to the prestige of the government in New England.

Puritan brutality died in a large measure with the first generation, but it left as a legacy in England a firm belief among Anglicans and Nonconformists that the priestly rule in Massachusetts was tyranny. This opinion was freely communicated and in some measure shared by the disfranchised inhabitants of the Bay Colony. It has been estimated that three fourths of the inhabitants were not church members. It gradually dawned upon the Puritan leaders when the wave of religious enthusiasm of the first generation failed to carry over into the second generation that the lack of posterity to carry on a Bible Commonwealth was a real danger. It so proved.

The keystone of the arch which supported the Bible Commonwealth was a suffrage restricted to Congregational church members for the election of all colonial officers and members of the General Court. Every inhabitant, however, was allowed to give his opinion about the management of prudential affairs in town meetings, and later was allowed to vote for town officers and on levying rates, and to serve as a selectman. This experience in municipal affairs created a desire for a fuller participation in government. Massachusetts was blamed at home and abroad for the limitation on the suffrage which made the state subordinate to the church. The practice met opposition. It had served a useful purpose in the first generation of Puritan enthusiasm but it was failing in the second generation through lack of popular support. It survived until the charter was revoked and a royal governor sent to rule Massachusetts.

During the term of Governor Andros, there was no meeting of the General Court and town meetings were abolished except for the election of town officers. Participation in government was denied to every citizen. In 1689 the colonists rose in rebellion, deposed the royal governor, and carried on the state for several years in

the old way until a new charter was granted by King William III.

In 1689 the General Court of the *de facto* government passed a law basing suffrage upon property qualifications, thus voluntarily freeing Massachusetts from the stranglehold of the clergy. Increase Mather was at this time the Puritan leader. He was in England as colonial agent to secure a new charter as favorable to the liberties of Massachusetts as his genius and diplomatic skill could persuade the King to grant. He had several interviews with James II and was invited by that monarch to suggest fundamentals for a new charter. Mather's propositions were reduced to writing, signed by him, and are preserved among the state papers of England. One of the fundamentals suggested by him, and later written into the charter granted by King William, was religious freedom.

It is often said that the mission of Increase Mather to England was an attempt to secure the restoration of the old charter. The rule of the theocratic oligarchy of which he had been a part was a lost cause.

Cotton Mather, commenting on the new charter, wrote in his diary: "We have not the former charter but we have a better in the room of it." The remark is significant. Under the Stuart kings the friendly and disgraceful relations between the French and English Courts offered some protection against the expanding power of France in the New World. A New England statesman may have welcomed the new charter as a superior instrument for mobilizing the forces of Massachusetts in the great struggle which he foresaw between the English and French for the possession of North America.

Whatever view one takes of the motives behind Mather's demands, the fact remains that the seeds of democracy unconsciously planted by Puritan leaders in church, state, and towns were bearing fruit which the ripening mind of Mather recognized and offered as fundamentals in a charter.

The Bible Commonwealth had outlived its usefulness. It was strangled in its home by sons of its Puritan



founders. The emancipation of Massachusetts from clerical misrule was in a large measure due to an enlightened public opinion reforming the Commonwealth from within.

In accepting the charter of King William and the new political alignment it entailed, the Puritans did not yield an iota of their philosophy that perfection through conformity to God's will was the test of salvation, and that consciousness of salvation was attainable by introspection and self-examination as to every detail of living.

Increase Mather and his associates did not surrender their religion. They agreed to take religion out of politics, where it never belonged and where it had caused centuries of bloodshed and human misery. This emancipation was the fruit of the Puritan experiment in Church and State. Bred in bigotry and intolerance it flowered and bore the double fruit of religious and political freedom.

The Puritans were not as black as painted. Every phase of their intolerance has been illustrated many times as if it were proof of one continuous strain of iniquity. With passing years Grace came to Massachusetts.

A great deal of nonsense has been written about the Puritans. The idea behind their Bible Commonwealth was an honest endeavor by the application of reason to discover the truth and to inculcate a passion to live the truth. They trusted overmuch the clergy who were obsessed with a belief that the Old Testament furnished models of government for all ages.

We have ceased to talk about a Bible Commonwealth, but the ideas which were behind the Bible Commonwealth are not dead. The Puritan spirit on its cultural side is a living past. It still speaks to us that we go forward, seeking to know and trying to live the truth. *Veritas* remains the legend on the seals of the two great schools of learning in New England. By that sign we conquer if we continue steadfast in the ancient desire to attain the truth in theory and practice.

## PHILIP ENGLISH.

BY RALPH BERTRAM HARRIS.

The Isle of Jersey, anciently called Caeserea, is one of the largest and most important of the Channel Islands. It belongs to Great Britain and is about thirteen miles off the French coast. It is only twelve miles long and three or four miles wide, and has an area of forty-five square miles. Its soil is very fertile, and it trades freely with the Spanish and French coasts, as well as with Holland. It is a peculiar community, in that it has retained until recent years some of its ancient feudal customs; and though it is near the French coast, it has always repelled the French when they came to its shores as invaders.

For some reason, unknown to this generation, a youth by the name of Philippe L'Anglois left his home and family in the Island, and journeyed with others across the ocean to the English Colonies, landing at Salem somewhere before 1670. Tradition has it that he ran away from home; some say, first to Virginia, and then to Salem. The date of his arrival is not definitely known. He was a descendant of the French Huguenots who, years before, had sought refuge in that island. Such at least is the tradition in his family.

His true name suffered a sea change in his transportation to New England, and he became on the voyage Philip English, by which name he is known to us, and which he himself finally adopted. His baptismal certificate, which has been preserved, reads as follows: "Baptismal Register of the church of Trinity Parish in the Isle of Jersey. Philippe, son of Jean L'Anglois, was baptized on the 30th day of June in the year One Thousand Six hundred and Fifty one—Presented for Holy Baptism by Sir Philippe de Carteret, Chevalier, Lord of St. Ouan (Ovan) and Madam his wife—given by copy (or duplicate) by me, J. DOREY, *Secretary*."

If by chance he was baptized in 1651 and came to Salem shortly before the year 1670, he must have been in the neighborhood of eighteen or nineteen years of age upon landing in Salem. Many of the accounts credit him at the time of his arrival with being a boy of twelve



years. It seems much more reasonable to believe that a youth of eighteen or nineteen years should make this trip alone to unknown shores, full of the dangers and uncertainties that existed in those days, than a mere boy, immature and unsophisticated.

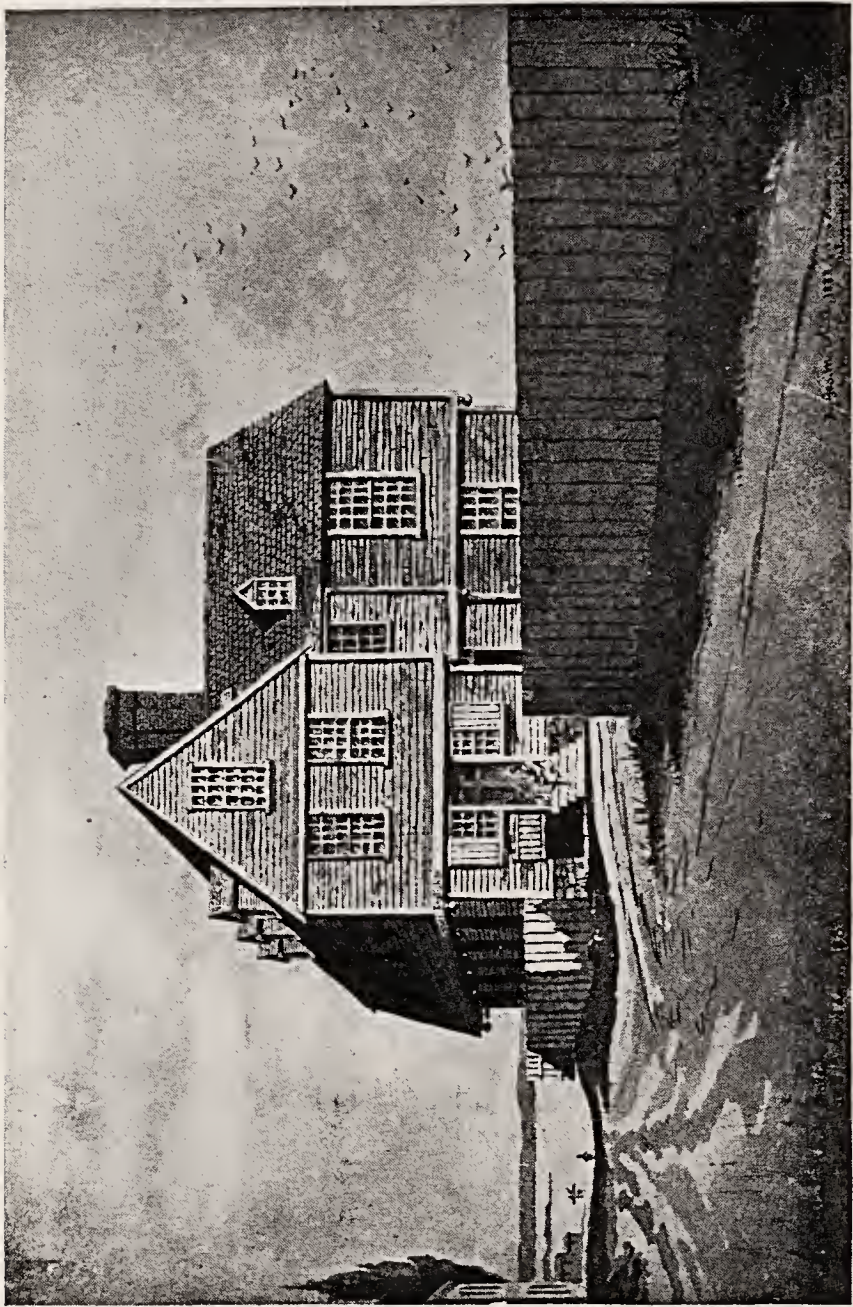
There is a tradition in one branch of the family that he was the only son of a Huguenot Chevalier—that he came to New England to seek his fortune and was disinherited for marrying the lady of his choice. This rumor may have arisen from the fact that Philippe de Cartaret presented him for baptism. There are no family papers that throw any light upon this story, which is perhaps only a rumor and therefore unreliable.

There is another rather fanciful account that he fell in love with a Mary Hollingsworth, a girl of charm and refinement, a daughter of William Hollingsworth, and a neighbor, before he came to this country. By so doing he became a rival of his brother. This story states that he lived on a pleasant estate in one of the northern counties of England. His mother was a Scotch lady. The early educational training of the two boys was strict but comprehensive. The boys were taught by the village priests until they had obtained an education which fitted them for their later years. Restless and deceived by his brother, he took ship for America, where he first landed in Virginia, and later made his way north to Salem. As this story carries his education to the age of twenty or twenty-one years, and as it is fairly well founded that he landed in Salem at about the age of eighteen or nineteen, at some time before the year 1670, we feel obliged to abandon it for what seems to be the more stable account of his early life.

He came to Salem as a young adventurer, poor, friendless, and without a cent in his pocket. Walking by the home of Mistress Hollingsworth, which one account cites as the Blue Anchor Tavern, he was invited in, and she, taking compassion on his loneliness, gave him a drink of beer in a silver mug. He was invited to make his home with her family while he lived in Salem. William Hollingsworth—the husband, and also the father of Mary—who, in 1675, was trading in Virginia, wrote home to his







PHILIP ENGLISH HOUSE, SALEM, 1685  
From drawings made in 1823

wife that he had found a very good husband for his daughter, namely, one of his Virginia friends. Mrs. Hollingsworth promptly replied that he need give himself no trouble on that score, because she had already given her daughter to Philip English. They were married in 1675, about five years after English had landed at Salem. A little later, it was learned that Hollingsworth had been treacherously killed by the Indians.

Dr. Bentley, in a letter to Timothy Alden Jr., stated that Mary Hollingsworth, "the only daughter of Wm. Hollingsworth, a rich inhabitant of Salem, had received a better education than is common even at this day, as proofs I hold sufficiently discover." One of the traditions of the family is that she had been a pupil of Madame Piedmont, who was a celebrated instructress of that day in Boston. Dr. Bentley further states, and it is also on the authority of Madame Susanna Harthorne, a granddaughter of Philip English, that Philip English came young to America from the Isle of Jersey, lived in the family of William Hollingsworth, and married his daughter Mary.

In the marriage record, English is styled "merchant." At this time he could not have been over twenty-four or twenty-five years of age, and therefore his business life had doubtless prospered beyond his dreams.\* He seems to have stood at the head of the commercial class in his day, in successful enterprise. In some ways, however, he was inferior. He lacked the educational advantages and high manners of some of his associates. Mrs. English was far superior to him in these respects. She, a Hollingsworth, had been well educated and was, according to Dr. Bentley, the "ornament of her family." It has come down to us that she was haughty and aristocratic, but this may mean only that she shared in the lofty manner of the higher class of that time, when distinctions of rank were set up and regarded to a degree of which we can hardly conceive.

Shortly after Mr. English's marriage, he set sail for the Isle of Jersey, commanding the ketch *Speedwell* from Maryland, and agreed to go to the Isle of Man to load

\* Dr. Bentley's *Diary*.



with salt for New England, and return next year to some port in Biscaye or Bordeaux, Rochelle or Nantz. The papers concerning this agreement, being in ancient French chirography, are very hard to decipher. It is very probable that he loaded finally with French merchandise for New England; there was at that time a comparatively free trade in our Massachusetts Colony with all nations.

In looking over his papers there appear sundry agreements relating to bound servants, which may be interesting. He appears to have taken quite a number of girls from the Isle of Jersey as apprentices in his family, and quite a number of men from the same island to serve "by sea employ." The girls served as apprentices for seven years, but the men (probably young men) served only four years. Judging from the papers, these men were let out at sea service and their wages taken by their master. There is a paper giving the testimony of one Nicholas Chevallier, who in 1682-83 was bound to Philip English, "for ye term of four years" and to "sea employ." When Chevallier arrived in New England, he liked land service better, and by the consent of his master was bound to Mr. Joseph Lee of Manchester. He testifies that Mr. Philip English has treated him well and he acquits him of the original indenture. Such servants as these, when in "sea employ," hired out or were let out as sailors. This hiring out "to service" was not much better than the slavery apprentice system. There is a tradition in the English family that Philip English had no less than fifteen bounden servants (male and female) in his own family; and considering the extent of his business and the profits of such service, it is by no means unlikely. Quite a number of such indentures are found among his papers.

Among the Salem merchants who appear to have been prominent when Philip English flourished, judging by papers in the English family, were Colonel Turner, Benjamin Marston, James Lindall, Timothy Lindall, Thomas Plaisted, John Higginson, Stephen Sewall, Benjamin and William Pickman, Thomas Ellis, John Pickman, William Bowditch, William Pickering, Benjamin, William, John and Samuel Browne.

English owned the easterly half of English Lane, down

to the water front. In 1683 he had so flourished in business that he put up a fine mansion, the frame of which is reported to have been brought from England. It was one of those ancient mansion houses for which Salem was once noted—a venerable, many-gabled, solid structure, with projecting stories and porches. Down to 1753 it was known as “English’s Great House.” It stood until 1833,\* when, long since tenantless and deserted, it had become dangerous to the tread of men and boys who had the curiosity to explore it. It had been built on the eastern corner of Essex Street and English Lane, now English Street. The picture in the Institute shows a little shop in the corner of the building on Essex Street. This may have been Mr. English’s shop, or, quite as likely it was a variety shop kept by his wife. For, as Mr. Upham relates, “instances were not uncommon from an early period in this part of the country for matrons of the most respectable families to conduct a business in little shops in the front rooms of houses. There were many such in Salem and they contributed largely to the thrift and prosperity of particular families.”

When this house was torn down, it was found to contain a secret room in the garret, supposed to have been built after the witchcraft furor as a place of temporary concealment in case of a second outcry. This house linked the nineteenth century with the very early chapters of American history.

Bentley says of this house that the cellars were completely furnished. The stone wall was built of as large stones as are now in use, which contradicts the opinion that they were generally built of small stones of choice, at that age. “There is a hearth, a very large oven, and all conveniences. The rooms are the largest in town. The floors are laid in plank and are sound at this day, the sweep of the hearth where they are worn down, having a curious appearance. The upper part of the house, among the peaks, have curious gables and very much room. Even the cellars are plastered.”

\* In a footnote in Bentley’s *Diary*, we learn that it was taken down some time before 1840, and was then known as the “forty-peaked house.”



Philip English in 1692 was at the height of his prosperity. He owned fourteen buildings and twenty-one sail of vessels, besides a wharf and warehouse on the Point of Rocks (Neck). At that time (between 1670 and 1740) the population of Salem varied from about 1,600 to 4,500. This period embraces the whole business period of the life of Philip English, as well as of various other merchants of his time.

From the years 1676 to 1692 Philip English appears to have traded to Bilboa, Barbadoes, St. Christopher's, Jersey, Isle of Man, as well as several French ports. That trade was very probably based on catching fish, on the Banks (the coast of Nova Scotia), in the bays of Newfoundland, and very likely in our own immediate bays, and sending them to Spain, Europe, and Barbadoes, and thence taking salt, dry goods, or West India produce back to New England.

There appear to have been two classes of vessels then employed in our commerce,—the regular fishing craft and the foreign traders,—both being about the same size. Though foreign traders seem sometimes to have gone up to Newfoundland after their fish cargo, there being probably depots there of prepared fish, yet Winter Island in Salem was a large depot for cured fish, and almost, if not quite, monopolized that business in Salem. Vessels seem to have taken their cargoes of fish mainly from there. It is certain that the voyages of Mr. English from 1675-76 to 1692 were, in the main, profitable, since at the latter period he was wealthy and had probably quit going to sea himself some few years before.

When Philip English began business in Salem, say in 1670 or thereabouts, the town was already recovering from the "smite on all employments" that is mentioned by Hull in 1665. In 1664, Josselyn said that there were some rich merchants. It is not to be wondered at that our old town should have flourished. Admirably situated for the fishing trade and the foreign trade then connected with it, and the shipping needed for both trades; enjoying a comparatively free trade with the world, unhampered by the Plantation Act, without even a Custom House established by Parliament,—Salem might have been the envy

of some of the British seaports, which had at home to conform to the rules from which Salem, in common with our Massachusetts seaports, escaped. Having enjoyed so much commercial liberty, under both Charles the First and Cromwell, particularly the latter, and feeling a growing consciousness of strength, both through that long liberty and its attendant success, Salem in 1670 enjoyed a high position in commerce.

She was also one of the principal ports in the Colony for shipbuilding. From 1670 to 1676 Salem seems to have flourished greatly. After that, the havoc made by the French and Indians among her fishing fleet forced her to retrograde for a while. "Between these years we find Wayborne, Randolph, and the London merchants all endeavoring to restrict our trade, stating that our Massachusetts commerce is irregular, that we do not conform to the acts of trade, that we do not make England the magazine of trade, but go and come, and buy and sell where, and as, and when we please. This proves our commercial freedom."

Between the years 1676 and 1692 was more or less of a gloomy period for the colonies: the loss of the charter; the dreaded loss by the Puritans of their Protestant privileges, or even of the titles to their very lands and houses as a consequence of the loss of the charter; the wars and rumors of wars which had gathered or were fast gathering; the public dread of James as the secret ally of France and the Indians against the colonies; the public and private calamities which were numerous; the belief in witchcraft and the growing belief throughout New England that Satan was let loose to do his will, especially in these colonies—all these causes contributed to render the public nerves morbid, the evil of men's imaginations acute,—until, as they drank off the successive draughts of these evils, temporal and spiritual, they themselves went finally mad in all the intoxication of calamity. Thus came upon the Colony the madness of 1692,—the witchcraft delusion.

The Salem witchcraft persecution is a study almost apart from the general history of that age; for its causes, existence, continuance, and effects seem to have been outside the ordinary circle of human experience. A belief in



witchcraft was no new thing with the men of 1692. From the earliest days of history, such a belief has haunted the minds and souls of men. Witchcraft was denounced indeed in the Old Testament, but it was believed in that day to have been the forsaking of the true God to worship the false Gods, or Devils, of the heathen by whom the Israelites were surrounded.

In the days of Moses, deserts were considered the dwelling places of devils. The Saviour was led up into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil. The two men possessed of the devil, whom the Saviour met in the country, came out of the tombs exceeding fierce, and were dwellers no doubt in those lonely and desolate places. The old magicians retired to places destitute of inhabitants, where the Spirits told them the things which they should write. It is evident that solitudes, deserts, and waste places were ever believed to be the haunts of Spirits of a wide order and of various degrees.

At the time that the Pilgrims and Puritans sought these shores, the country was a wilderness of woods,—“The American Deserts,” as Cotton Mather describes them,—and the natives were regarded as heathen and their gods as devils. This wilderness was now invaded by the Church of Christ. The solitudes which the devil had so long possessed and been worshipped in, were now to resound with the songs of Zion, a hateful music to his rebellious ear.

The strict Puritanism of the early settlers was supposed to be peculiarly offensive to him; and when witchcraft was discovered in New England, it was thought not strange that the devil should endeavor to afflict a people who most hated him, and whom he most hated. At the date of 1692, there became mixed with the general belief in witchcraft, an awful belief in the darkest possible plot of Satan to destroy Salem and the colony.

Cotton Mather, who thought himself perhaps the champion of the Lord against the sin of witchcraft in 1692, thus stated what reasons Satan had for vexing New England, and especially Salem, with his arts at that period. “The New Englanders are a people of God settled in those which were once the Devil’s Territories, and it may easily be supposed that the Devil was exceedingly disturbed when

he perceived such a people here accomplishing the promise of old, made unto our blessed Jesus, 'that he should have the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession.' The Devil, thus irritated, immediately tried all sorts of methods to overturn this poor plantation." Mather goes on to say that "we have been advised by some credible Christians yet alive, that a malefactor, accused of witchcraft as well as murder, and executed in this place [Boston] more than 40 years ago [before 1653], did then give notice of an horrible plot against the country, by witchcraft and a foundation of witchcraft then laid, which if it were not seasonably discovered, would probably blow up and pull down all the churches in the country. And we have now with Horror seen the discovery of such a witchcraft."

It should be borne in mind that a good part of Mather's work, "Wonders of the Invisible World," is taken up by a sermon that he preached in August, 1692, when the delusion was raging, and was reproduced with additions in 1693, and published with his trials of the witches in Salem, and this by the special command of the Governor.

A somewhat careful perusal of his work induces us to believe that our Salem tragedy was especially based upon a religious belief then influential, and we may suppose prevalent in the Colony, and relieves Salem from the main burden of the tragedy. The public mind, the body politic, was prepared for this contagion; which, like the visible plague, might indeed break out in one spot, but which found the whole community predisposed to the attack.

If the remainder of the Colony had been sane, and only Salem bereft of her reason, our old town might bear the burden; but the share taken in the matter by the Government, the clergy, the courts, and the remainder of the Colony, proves that our burden is their burden, our mistakes their mistakes, our penitence their penitence, our sorrow and shame theirs also.

The story of the arrest and examination of Mary English and her husband Philip, if we had all the documents in the case, would no doubt be exceedingly interesting. The papers, however, have not come down to us, except in the most meagre form. Philip English was wealthy. He



had, for that day, large possessions. He lived well. He occupied one of the finest mansions in town. Dr. Bentley intimates that his controversies and law suits with the town may have had something to do with leading the accusing children of witchcraft to "name" the Englishes. Besides that, he was an Episcopalian. He desired toleration for that creed, and felt that he could not obtain it. He adhered to his religious creed with great pertinacity, and even as late as 1725 was imprisoned in our Salem Jail for refusing to pay church taxes to the East Parish Congregational Church.

The Episcopalians were thrust out from civil government in the Colony in 1631 by the law of freemanship, and were not restored to their rights even after the Restoration. To tolerate them was to tolerate the tyranny of that church which had driven the Puritans and Pilgrims over the sea and was only biding its time for spiritual dominion over them. It was probably no recommendation of Philip English in those days of witchcraft that he was an adherent of the Church of England, and it may be that this fact contributed in a large measure to the prejudice which prompted these children to mention him as inclined to witchcraft.

We are indebted to Dr. Bentley for the information connected with the arrest of Mrs. English. She was in bed when the sheriff came for her. The servants admitted him to her chamber, where he read the warrant. She refused to rise. Guards were placed about the house, and in the morning she attended the devotions of the family, kissed her children with great composure, proposed her plan for their education, took leave of them, and then told the officer "she was ready to die." She was evidently so persuaded from the first that accusation of witchcraft was equivalent to condemnation, that she expected only death, and prepared herself for it.

Mrs. English was examined and committed, by indulgence, to custody in a public house, at which her husband visited her. Some say it was the Salem Jail,\* probably at the corner of St. Peter's and Federal Streets.

\* The jail at Salem, where many of the victims were lodged, was located on Prison Lane (now St. Peter's Street), and the Court House, where the trials took place, was on Town House

There is a tradition in the family that before her examination she was placed in a room directly over the examining judges, and heard through the thin partition the examination of some of the accused; that she took some notes of these examinations—particularly of the questions asked by the magistrates—and when her own turn came, she asked them if such things were right and lawful. She told them she would know of the higher courts whether such things were law and justice, and that their decisions should be reviewed by the superior judges.

There is another tradition that she was confined in the second story of a tavern, which stood just above Market Square on the northern side of Essex Street, and which Felt, in his "Annals of Salem," calls the "Cat and Wheel."

The visits of her husband brought suspicion on him and got him into trouble, for a warrant was issued for him on the 30th of April, although he was not arrested until later (May 30). The tradition in the family is that he kept himself out of the way for a while, being in Boston endeavoring to obtain the removal of his wife to that town and to obtain the interest of the authorities in her behalf; that he then voluntarily surrendered himself, more particularly as he found his own absence was being used to the prejudice of his wife. He appears to have been examined in Salem and then committed to prison with Mrs. English.

Dr. Bentley gives as one of the causes of the accusation against Mrs. English, that she had been considered haughty in her bearing toward the poor; that some prejudices were at the bottom of it. The family tradition says nothing as to the causes of her arrest, but her servants were overwhelmed with grief when she was arrested, and wished to resist the officers, which she would not permit.

Apparently she was a woman of religious sensibilities, for as early as 1681 she was admitted a Congregational

Lane (now Washington Street). The Meeting House, where examinations had been held, was at what is now the southeast corner of Essex and Washington Streets, the present site of Daniel Low's store. The old Witch House, the residence of Judge Corwin, was used for conferences and sessions of the Grand Jurors.



Church member, and has left behind her the following religious acrostic, put into Dr. Bentley's hands by a lady of Boston, one of her descendants:

May I with Mary chues ye better part  
And serve ye Lord with all my heart,  
Reseive his word most joyfully  
Y live to him eternally.

Everliving God I pray  
Never leave me for to stray;  
Give me grace the to obay.  
Lord grant that I may hapy be  
In Jesus Christ eternille.  
Save me deer Lord by thy rich grace,  
Heaven then shall be my dwelling-place.

This acrostic is not dated, but was evidently written after marriage and perhaps after she had been admitted to the church in 1681. At that time certainly she seems to have been humble in mind and heart.

Mr. and Mrs. English were finally removed to Boston from our Salem jail, and on the same day with Giles Cory, George Jacobs, Sr., Alice Parker, Ann Pudeater, and Bridget Bishop, alias Oliver. Of these all perished except themselves. Bridget Bishop was the first victim of the witchcraft madness of 1692. Giles Cory was pressed to death for refusing to plead to his indictment, and Alice Parker and George Jacobs were hung. It is the trial of Jacobs, as painted by Matheson and presented by the Messrs. Ropes, which decorates the hallway of the Essex Institute. Philip English and his wife escaped death by flight from jail to New York.

It is said that several of the Boston clergy took a great deal of interest in the cause of Mr. and Mrs. English when confined in jail; that Cotton Mather, who was a great friend of Mrs. English, said that, though she was accused, "he did not believe her to be guilty: that her accusers evidently believed her to be so, but that Satan was evidently deceiving them into that belief"; a very ingenious defence, in fact, against all accusations of the kind. It is also reported that the Governor interested himself in their behalf. It is said that their friends re-

peatedly urged Mr. and Mrs. English to escape to New York, and that some New York merchants who knew Mr. English sent on a carriage to help them in their flight. This, Mr. English was at first unwilling to do, saying that "he did not believe that they [the courts] would shed innocent blood." He soon, however, had reason to believe the opposite, and they both disappeared. It was rumored that the State authorities were cognizant of the plot for the escape and aided in it. Dr. Bentley, in his letter to Alden, thus details the circumstances in regard to the escape of Mr. and Mrs. English from Boston.

Joshua Moodey, mentioned as being concerned therein, was indeed a rare man for that age. About the year 1658 he began to preach in Portsmouth, N. H. His independent and faithful manner of preaching and the strictness of his church discipline brought down on his head in 1684 the wrath of Lieutenant-Governor Cranfield of that province, who indicted and imprisoned him under the Uniformity Act, and dismissed him, after thirteen weeks imprisonment, with a charge to preach no more on penalty of further imprisonment. This drove him to Boston, where he preached until 1692. At that time he boldly espoused the cause of Mr. and Mrs. English—openly justified Mr. English, and in defiance of the popular prejudice, denounced the prevailing witchcraft persecution. This brought down upon him the wrath of not a few influential persons in his own society, and he was obliged to leave Boston in consequence. He was gladly welcomed back to Portsmouth, by a parish by whom he was greatly beloved, and thence remained with them. In 1680 he was offered the Presidency of Harvard College, which he modestly declined. Cotton Mather preached his funeral sermon and called him "that man of God." It was evident that he was a bold and fearless, able man, seeing clearly through the delusion of his age, while his treatment of his personal enemies proves him to have been as magnanimous and noble as he was brave and able.

Dr. Bentley says in his letter to Alden: "In Boston, upon giving bail, Mr. and Mrs. English had the liberty of the town, only lodging in prison. Upon their arrival, Messrs. Willard and Moodey discovered every disposition



to console them in their distress. On the day before they were to return to Salem to stand trial, Mr. Moody waited upon them in the prison and invited them to public worship. On this occasion he chose for his text, 'If they persecute you in one city, flee to another.' In the sermon, with a manly freedom, he justified every attempt to escape from the forces of justice, when justice was violated in them. After service Mr. Moody visited them in jail, and asked Mr. English whether he took notice of his discourse. Mr. English said that he did not know whether he had applied it as he ought, and wished some conversation on the subject. Mr. Moody then frankly told him that his life was in danger and he ought by all means to provide for an escape. Mr. English then replied, 'God will not suffer them to hurt me.' Upon this reply, Mrs. English said to her husband, 'Do you not think that they who have suffered already are innocent?' His reply was, 'Yes.' 'Why then may we not suffer also? Take Mr. Moody's advice.' Mr. Moody then told Mr. English that if he would not carry his wife away, he would.

"He then told him he had persuaded several worthy persons in Boston to make provision for their conveyance out of the Colony, and that a conveyance had been obtained, encouraged by the Governor and the gaoler, that would come at midnight, and that proper recommendations had been obtained to Governor Fletcher of New York, so that he might give himself no concern about any circumstance of the journey. The Governor also gave letters to Governor Fletcher, and at the time appointed, Mr. English, his wife and daughter were taken and conveyed to New York. He found before his arrival that Mr. Moody had despatched letters, and the Governor with many private gentlemen, came out to meet him. Governor Fletcher entertained him at his own home and paid him every attention while he remained in the city. This is the substance of the communication," writes Dr. Bentley, "made to me at different times from Madam Susannah Harthorne, his great-granddaughter, who received the account from the descendants of Mr. English, and who dwelt upon his obligation to Mr. Moody with great pleasure. Mr. Moody had to leave Boston in consequence of his share in

this transaction, but only to return to the arms of a congregation who had never willingly given him up."

The winter of 1692-93 and the succeeding spring were days of terrible suffering for the people of Salem. Mr. English, anticipating something of this misery, sent on from New York during the winter, 100 barrels of flour for the poor, who, he was afraid, "would suffer in his absence." The witchcraft madness and terror, the executions, the numerous arrests, the accusations on all sides, the flight of the inhabitants—over a quarter part of whom fled—the general gloom and the utter prostration of business, had all depressed Salem beyond imagination. In 1693, the storm was over and the people were themselves again.

Mr. English and his wife then returned to Salem and were welcomed home by Reverend Mr. Noyes, who was very attentive to him ever after. The town expressed its joy at his return by bonfires and by general rejoicing. Mrs. English, however, returned home an invalid, only to die a little later.

During the time that Philip English had been away from home, his house had been sacked, his private papers tampered with, his goods attached and taken from his stores, his pictures taken from the walls, to the amount of £1,183. He sued Curwen, the Sheriff, for £1,500, but never recovered. His wife's health was ruined, his goods gone, his business for the time broken up, and he, after all, an innocent man. The only financial satisfaction that he ever got was £60 paid him by the administrator of the estate of George Curwen.

The whole affair was a great trial for Mr. English. Perhaps this was one cause of the disease (clouding of the mind) under which he labored the last two years of his life. The loss of his wife was a severe blow,—a wife whom he tenderly loved,—and in addition to this came the loss of his property to no small amount, and most unjustly brought about. He petitioned the General Court for pecuniary satisfaction, but refused the amount tendered to him, as it was entirely inadequate.

Mr. English set about repairing his fortune, having children to bring up, and seems to have entered business again with fresh spirit and energy, though not with the



good fortune, perhaps, that he had met with prior to 1692. He sent his ketches, sloops, and brigantines to Barbadoes and other British West Indies, Dutch Guiana, Maryland, Virginia, and Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Ireland, Isle of Jersey and England. It is quite possible that English was engaged in trade with some of these places prior to 1692, but many of his earlier commercial papers were most probably scattered, if not destroyed, when his house and warehouse were sacked that year. A few papers were found of commercial interest running from 1694 to 1720.

A higher power than the winds and the waves and the fallible efforts of man is indeed recognized in all the old Salem letters of advice now extant, not of Philip English alone, but of other Salem merchants. Nor were such men, indeed, the less manly or generous for such a belief or acknowledgment, as the noble legacies to Salem abundantly prove; and English's letter of 1694-95 may have some interest; Major John Pilgrim, to whom it was addressed, was a merchant of Barbadoes, most probably a commission merchant.

Jan. 28 1684-5

MAJOR JOHN PILGRIM,

Sir:—

Yours received, by Mr. Benj. Pittman with one envoice & bill of Loading enclosed of 4 bbls of rum & 4 bbls of molasses. The rum was in good condition but the molasses was about  $\frac{1}{4}$  part leaked or taken out. Mr. Pittman gives me to understand it was so before it came on board—therefore I had not any satisfaction of him.

If it should please God that the said ketch arrives safe in Barbadoes, I intreat you to receive the said fish and dispose of the same for me & Return the produce by the same ketch in Barbadoes goods if to be had, if not, in dry goods:—viz, nails, blue lining, Holland duck, cordage if it is to be found cheap there. Knowing not what is best, I leave it to your discretion to make returns in what you think best to my advantage, but in case the said ketch should not return hither, I directly pray, send the effects by the first that is bound for Salem, if Barbadoes goods, if English goods by any bound for Salem or Boston; fish is very scarce here, is none to be expected till spring.

## WITCHCRAFT.

BY FRED GIBSON ROBBINS, M. D., D. M. D.

Sir Walter Scott, in his "Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft," says: "It appears then, that the ideas of superstition which the more ignorant converts to the Christian faith borrowed from the wreck of the classical mythology, were so rooted in the minds of their successors that these found corroboration of their faith in demonology in the practice of every pagan nation whose destiny it was to encounter them as enemies, and that as well within the limits of Europe, as in every other part of the globe to which their arms were carried. In a word, it may be safely laid down that the commonly received doctrine of demonology, presenting the same general outlines, though varied according to the fancy of particular nations, existed through all Europe. It seems to have been founded originally on feelings incident to the human heart, or diseases to which the human frame is liable—to have been largely augmented by what classic superstitions survived the ruins of paganism—and to have received new contributions from the opinions collected among the barbarous nations, whether of the east or of the west."

Now, in order that we may get some idea as to the origins of witchcraft, let us go back to the period when Christianity was emerging from paganism, and there observe, if possible, how, with the teaching of a new religion, there arose such confusion of the understanding that instead of wisdom a devouring superstition and the most maniacal fanaticism came to develop.

Amongst the Greeks and Romans magic had a totally different character from that which it assumed in the Judaic-Christian faith, for in this the devil was held to play the chief part. The magical arts were not, in old times, attributed to the influence of the powers of darkness but to people who were in familiar intercourse with the gods and demons. The ancient German and northern elves approximated nearer to those of the Christian world; in fact, it may be said they constitute, to a certain degree, the foundation and underwork of the following witch



period. For here men understood by sorcery, rather the operation of secret powers, which were ascribed to wicked men and fallen beings and not to the gods who performed the higher miracles and who merely worked for good; the original idea of magic being that of enquiring into the secret powers of nature in order to use them to advantage.

Soothsaying women at the period of the diffusion of Christianity were very numerous in parts of Europe, and as they were equally frequent amongst the ancient votaries of the gods and as those gods came to be regarded as demons and evil spirits, consequently the strange doings of these women came to be regarded as produced by the help of demons and the women themselves as witches and the accomplices of devils. In the early days of the church the Fathers did not altogether regard divination in this evil point of view, for Clemens of Alexandria says, "There are among the Germans so-called prophetic women who according to the running of the river and the form of the waves, etc., divine and foretell future events." Later, when the superstitious belief in the devil and evil spirits had increased; when natural phenomena were attributed to the influence of the devil; when the people through a rabid fanaticism came to confess impossibilities and judges and the clergy accepted the confessions of imaginative or, shall we say, deranged persons as true, then the Black Art was in full sway; the devil had reached the summit of his power and the name of witch was a terror to everyone; for then the witch was no longer the prophetic or so-called "wise woman"—the original meaning—but a person who had made an actual, deliberate, formal compact with Satan. By this agreement she was to become his faithful subject and do all in her power to aid him in his rebellion against God and the church, and in return Satan was to grant to her supernatural powers. Thus a witch was considered as a person who had transferred allegiance and worship from God to the devil. This compact was supposed to confer great additional power on the devil as well as on the person, for it was thought that for him to act on men the intervention and co-operation of human beings was necessary. And once the agreement

had been made, the combined powers of the two working together was supposed to be unlimited. A witch was considered as able to afflict any person she would. She could cause them to pine away or to go into convulsions. She could injure persons in various ways, by choking and by causing them to lose their minds, by bringing about disease, pain, torture, and even to cause death. An indefinite amount of supernatural knowledge was attributed to witches as well as knowledge such as no other had. It was believed that those who had made a compact with the devil had been marked by him somewhere on the body, and that this point was callous and without sensation so that if, on examination, any spot was found which was insensible or if there was any excrescence, induration or fixed discoloration, it was looked upon as evidence of guilt.

Witches were believed to assume the shape of any animal they wished, as dog, cat, mouse, toad. Yellow birds in particular were supposed to represent witches. Imps were thought to be under the control of witches and these in the form of insects, particularly spiders, and to obtain nourishment from the witchmark on the body of the suspect. It was believed that a witch could be anywhere at any time and exert her powers through her spirit or apparition. She could also operate by means of an image which was supposed to represent the person she wished to afflict. This image might be of wax or it might be a doll or a simple bundle of rags, and whatever the witch did to this puppet would be suffered by the one represented. When anyone was arrested on the charge of witchcraft, a search was made for these, and if anything could be found that might possibly possess that character—it need be but a simple piece of cloth wrapped up, or a cushion; and particularly if there were any pins in it—it was considered as important and decisive evidence against the accused.

In the fifth century St. Jerome himself was obliged to fight with devils—once he was flogged by them.

The ideas of St. Augustine had a direct tendency to countenance the belief in the intercourse of witches and devils.



John of Damascus speaks of the devils as flying dragons, as burning, long serpents, thick as pine trees, who speed through the air and enter through windows and have communication with those in alliance with them. He also speaks of sorcery by which men and beasts are tormented and by which children are bewitched even during the period of gestation and are destroyed at birth.

The animal metamorphoses are mentioned by the first Bishop of Cremona (Luitprand) at that time imperial ambassador at Constantinople and in the year 963 interpreter at Rome. Pope Sylvester II (999) was declared to have obtained his office by means of the Black Art. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries the moral and intellectual horizon grew brighter through increase of knowledge and religious enlightenment. At this period the devil was represented in fables and ballads as a wag who carried on much sport and was easily expelled by the help of a saint or making the sign of the cross.

From the thirteenth century on the belief began to rage again and towards its end many books existed on the subject. By means of these, the fear of the devil, superstition and the belief in the apparition of spirits became universal. It was during this century that a nun named Marcella was persecuted by the devil but the Angel Gabriel brought her a piece of wood out of Paradise, with the smoke of which she drove away the devil. The Archbishop Edmund of Canterbury was greatly persecuted by the devil. How widely diffused witchcraft was then may be judged by the statement "that in Germany and Italy especially such numbers of men were seduced to sorcery that the whole earth was overflowed by it and would have been laid waste by the devil had they not in both countries burnt some thirty thousand heretics." During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the belief rose to its complete height and growth and from this time on heresy and witchcraft were placed in the same category, for seeing or having a vision of the devil was the same as having intercourse with him and was a falling from grace. The black mastery now rested on authority and law, on the spiritual and secular powers.

Superstition and fanaticism persecuted the miserable witches and burnt them as heretics. An accusation made from suspicion or enmity was held to be sufficient; this was followed by a criminal trial and the trial by burning. It was no matter whether the accused confessed or not. If he admitted it he was guilty, if he denied it he was punished as a miserable sinner.

Southern France was regarded as the nursery of heresy and the Black Art, to which its location on the Mediterranean and in the vicinity of Spain contributed. The oldest account of the witch Sabbath lays the scene here. From the south of France the belief in magic diffused itself in two principal directions, the one towards Italy, the other towards Paris, the north of France, and Lorraine. From Italy, where the witch mania raged, and especially in upper Italy, and where Verona was particularly mentioned in a pope's bull the witch fever extended itself into the Tyrol and upper Germany.

Finally, the belief having reached its acme in the fifteenth century, it strengthened itself by diffusion and its dignity was increased by the sacred sanction. The distinction of this period is that from now on they were chiefly women who were accused of witchcraft after some few men and those of high rank had been executed on those charges. Amongst the women burned at this period was Joan of Arc. The prosecution of witches was now formally sanctioned by the sorcery bull of Innocent VIII and finally through the Witch Hammer the Court of Heresy received its full authority; but while Innocent established and promulgated the witch prosecutions through his bull, he was not precisely the originator, for the belief in witchcraft and the executions had preceded this period.

The contents of this bull, dated Dec. 4, 1484, are as follows:

The pope expresses his grief that in many parts of Germany many persons of both sexes, forgetful of their salvation and falling away from the Catholic faith, mingle themselves with demons and paramour devils (Incubi and Succubi) and then by their aid and magical means use devilish arts to torment men and animals, affect unspeak-



ably numerous evils, and destroy the fruits of the earth as vineyards, gardens and meadows; disastrously affect both men and women and perpetrate incalculable crimes. The pope conferred, by virtue of this bull, power on three appointed preachers to expound the word of God, in those countries, to the faithful, to hunt out heretics and to punish them by excommunication, censure and chastisement, by interdict and suspension, and even to hang them without any power of appeal. He commanded the right reverend brother the Bishop of Strasbourg, not by any means, either of himself or by others, to make known publicly to the accused the charge against him; he was not allowed to weaken or restrict the power of the said apostolic letters by any means whatsoever; nor to contradict nor resist the orders of the commissioners, let the rank, office, privileges, nobility, or consideration of the accused be whatsoever they might.

Through this ordinance the inquisitors had an easy time of it, for no one dared to contradict their opinion. Hitherto, the people and the judicial authorities had acknowledged the power of the Pope only in matters of faith and not in matters of this kind. For some centuries men had prosecuted heretics, and many of those so accused were charged with sorcery; for, as has been stated, heresy and sorcery were in the same category; but the witch prosecutions had not been formally recognized and the judge might be summoned to a higher tribunal to answer for his judgment, as happened to the judges in the Arras witch trials in 1459. The secular authorities up to now had been the deciding judgment, but by this bull heresy and sorcery were linked together and the secular authority was placed in subjection to that of the inquisitors.

A few years later (probably 1489) appeared the Witch Hammer, previously spoken of, which ominous work of some six hundred odd pages in quarto, is worthy of examination.

#### THE WITCH HAMMER.

The complete title of the book is *Malleus Malificarum*; its purpose was to demonstrate by means of the Scripture, and the fathers of the church, and by philosophical writ-

ings, not only the possibility but the actuality of sorcery; in fact, to prove it beyond all doubt. It was the code in which everything which belonged to witchcraft was clearly and fully set forth. The authors were appointed by the Pope and were styled in the sorcery bull Inquisitors. These were Jacobus Sprenger, Johannes Gremper, and Henricus, Institor in Germany. To the book was prefixed the papal bull and a testimony of approbation from the theological faculty at Cologne; also they had a diploma from the Emperor Maximilian.

In the Witch Hammer the idea of witchcraft is systematically determined. Witches, sorcerers, and sorceresses are people who deny God and renounce him and his grace; who have made a league with the devil; who have given themselves up to him body and soul; who attend his assemblies and sabbaths, and receive from him poison powder and as his subjects receive commands from him to injure and to destroy men and animals; who through devilish arts stir up storms, damage the corn, the meadows and the fields, and confound the powers of nature. As the witches are more especially the object of his attention, and as they carry on more feminine avocations, such as milking the neighbors' cows, making witch butter, fortune telling, etc., they are the more numerous offenders. The book is divided into three principal parts containing various chapters and episodes. The first division contains eighteen queries on everything under the head of sorcery. Some of these we will take up briefly.

"The devil is the chief person through whose aid sorcery takes place by the divine permission. The belief in this is orthodox; the assertion of the contrary is heresy."

On the question how the devil acts in witches it is answered, "The devil, in fact, operates alone, as in the case of Job, but the witches are necessary instruments for his corporal actions because the devil, being a spiritual being, needs a vehicle through which to exercise his power."

A highly important question is whether in the connections with the devil real children are begotten. This question is often asked in the witch trials. The question is answered succinctly in the affirmative; to doubt it were heresy.



One of the most entertaining chapters is the answer to the query as to why women are more given to sorcery than men. It says, "The holy fathers of the church always assert that three things, whether for good or evil, know no bounds, namely the tongue, a priest and a woman. As to the tongues it is quite clear that the Holy Ghost conferred fiery tongues on the apostles; amongst preachers the tongue is like the tongues of the dogs which licked the sores of Lazarus. So there are amongst all men, amongst the clergy as well as others, wicked and unwholesome tongues. As to women it is also very clear, for the wise Solomon gives his experience of them and St. Chrysostom says: "Marriage is a very doubtful thing; for what is a woman but an enemy to friendship, an unavoidable punishment, a necessary evil, a natural temptation, a desirable misfortune, a domestic danger, a perpetual fountain of tears, a mischief of nature overlaid with a glittering varnish?"

Seneca says: "A woman loves or hates; there is no third course. If she weeps there is deceit afloat, for two kinds of tears bedew the eyes of women, the one kind are evidences of their pain, the other of their deceit and cunning. But of good wives the fame is also unbounded and men and indeed whole countries have been saved by them." The Witch Hammer then turns from this subject and draws this conclusion—that women are more addicted to sorcery than men from these causes: First, their easiness of faith; second, from the weakness of their constitutions, by which they become more susceptible to revelations; third, on account of their slippery tongues and their inquisitive wits, by which they tempt the devil and get too far for him to get back again. A number of crimes are enumerated against the female sex, as squabbling, envy, stiffneckedness—this latter because they were made out of Adam's crooked rib.

Another question treats of witch midwives who injure the fruits, produce untimely births, and carry children under the chimneys or into the open air and dedicate them to the devil.

Another: Comparison of the devil's work and witches' works—the witches are worse than the devil.

There are three kinds of men whom witchcraft cannot touch: magistrates, clergymen exercising the pious rites of the church, and saints who are under the immediate protection of the angels. Of course, inquisitors and judges stand first under the protection of God.

An item from the chapter on the ceremonies of abjuration: "A woman in Basle had intercourse with the devil; but God took pity on her poor soul, for very shortly before the completion of this time she was happily discovered by us and burned. She confessed her sins very penitently."

The second part consists of two chief questions, as to how witchcraft is to be done away with. The means are physical and spiritual. Of the first, smoke is a means; of the last, prayers and making the sign of the cross.

The third part contains the criminal code which was to be used, and consists of some thirty-five questions in which the whole process of trial from the arrest to the judgment is fully detailed.

Here are one or two of them:

Should a defence be allowed? And if an advocate defended his client beyond what was reasonable should he too not be considered guilty? No wonder there was no great zeal shown in defending those accused.

On torture: In order to bring the accused to voluntary confession you may promise her life; this promise may afterward be withdrawn.

On the discovery of a witch: Among others it is a damning thing if the accused on being brought up cannot at once shed tears.

By this somewhat rambling outline of the Witch Hammer we have some acquaintance with the conditions, the means, and the aim of the witch prosecutions.

Among the celebrated trials in Europe were the ones at Arras in France in 1459; at Mora in Sweden, 1670; and that of the nun Maria Reuata at Warzburg, Germany, in 1749. This was the last one in that country. Probably the last execution in Europe was at Clarus in Switzerland in 1780.

Among other books treating of witchcraft which may



be mentioned is the *Demonology* of James I who was a firm believer in it. This production is in form and contents similar to the *Witch Hammer*. It is stated that he was instructed in the Black Art by a witch in return for which he gave her her life. Another work which is of especial interest to us is the "Discourse of the damned art of Witchcraft" by William Perkins referred to as "the learned pious and painful preacher of God's word at Cambridge." This work went through several editions and had a wide circulation. It is stated that perhaps he was the writer who had the greatest influence on this subject in England and America during the 17th century. This work was the great authority on the subject and our interest lies in the fact that Mr. Parris who was beyond all others the busiest and most active prosecutor at the witch trials in Salem, had a copy in his possession.

And now let us take up this report of an English trial which is one often referred to in works on this subject:

The most interesting trial is that of the Suffolk witches because Sir Matthew Hale was the Judge and Sir Thomas Browne was the medical expert witness. In this case tried at the assizes at Bury St. Edmunds on March 16, 1664, two widows named Rose Cullender and Amy Duny were accused of bewitching young children. The main points of the evidence were these. There had been a quarrel between the accused and the parents of the children; the accused had uttered threats against them. The children fell into fits and vomited crooked pins, and once one of them vomited a two-penny nail with a broad head; they cried out the names of the accused in their fits; they could not pronounce the names "Lord," "Jesus" or "Christ" in reading but when it came to "Satan" or "devil" they cried, "This bites but makes one speak it right well." One of the children fell into a swoon after being suckled by one of the accused, and out of the child's blanket fell a great toad which exploded in the fire like gunpowder, and immediately afterwards the alleged witch was seen sitting at home maimed and scorched.

Evidence of finding the witch's mark was given, and then evidence of reputation, viz.:— that the accused, be-

sides being themselves accounted as witches, had had some of their kindred condemned as such. A farmer swore that once when his cart had touched Cullender's house it overturned continually and they could not get it home. Sir Thomas Browne testified that the swooning fits were natural, heightened to great excess by the subtlety of the devil co-operating with the witches. Experiments upon the children were then made in Court by bringing them into contact with the witches and others. These were of so unsatisfactory a nature that many present openly declared that they thought the children impostors. The chief baron in his summing-up said that there were such creatures as witches was undoubted, for the Scriptures affirmed it and the wisdom of nations had provided laws against such persons. The report alleges that after conviction of the accused the children immediately recovered.

"The result of this important trial established decisively the interpretation of English law, and the printed report of it was used as an authoritative text-book in the Court at Salem." (Upham).

A report of a Scotch trial is not without interest, for here we have an account of a witch Sabbath:

The confession of Agnes Sympson to King James:

"Item: Fyled and convict for samecle, as she confest before his Majesty that the devil in man's likeness met her going out in the fields, from her own house a Keith betwixt five and six at even being alone and commendit her to be at Northborrick Kirk the next night. And she passed then on horseback, conveyed by her good-son called John Cooper, and lighted at the Kirk-yard or a little before she came to it, about eleven hours at even. They danced along the Kirk-yard, Geilie Duncan plaid to them on a trump, John Fien, mussiled, led all the rest, the said Agnes and her daughter followed next. Besides there were Kate Grey, George Moile's wife, Robert Guerson, Catherine Duncan Buchanan Thomas Barnhill and his wife, Gilbert Macgil, John Macgil, Catherine Macgil with the rest of their complices, above an hundred per-



sons, whereof there were six men and all the rest women. The women made first their homage and then the men. The men were turned nine times Widdershins about and the women six times. John Fien blew up the doors and in the lights, which were like mickle black candles sticking round about the pulpit. The devil started up himself in the pulpit, like a mickle black man and everyone answered here. Mr. Robert Guerson being named, they all ran hirdie girdie, and were angry; for it was promised he should be called Robert the Comptroller alias Rob the Rowar for expriming of his name. The first thing he demandit was, as they kept all promise, and been good servants, and what they had done since the last time they convened.

"At his command they opened up three graves, two within and one without the Kirk and took off the joints of their fingers toes and neise, and parted them among them; and the said Agnes Sympson got for her part a winding sheet and two joints. The devil commandit them to keep the joints upon them while they were dry and then to make a powder of them to do evil withal. Then he commandit them to keep his commandments, which were to do all the evil they could. Before they departed they kissed his breech. He (the devil) had on him ane gown and ane hat which were both black; and they that were assembled part stood and part sate; John Fien was ever nearest the devil at his left elbock. Graymarcal kept the door.<sup>1</sup>

We come now to a consideration of Witchcraft in this country. Just when the first case of witchcraft arose in New England is not quite definite. It is stated by Hutchinson that it was in 1645 in Springfield, but it is not certain that he has not confounded the Springfield case of 1651 with this date.

The first execution was that of Margaret Jones at Charlestown in 1648. She was accused, found guilty and hanged. If any records ever existed they were destroyed.

<sup>1</sup> From The Confessions of Certain Scotch Witches, taken out of an authentic copy of their trial at the Assizes held at Paisley in Scotland, Feb. 16, 1678, touching the bewitchment of Sir George Maxwell.—*Demonologia*, by J. S. F., London, 1833.

The journals of Governor Winthrop contain an account—probably the best—of this case.

In 1649 Mary Parsons, wife of Hugh Parsons of Springfield, was found guilty of slander for circulating a report that the Widow Marshfield was practicing Witchcraft; in 1651 Mary Parsons was herself accused of the practice and was tried in Boston that same year and acquitted of the charge. Hugh Parsons, her husband, was tried and acquitted in 1652.

John Bradstreet of Rowley was tried in 1652 on a charge of "familiarity with the devil." On examination it was found he had lied and as this was his second offence he had the choice of paying a fine or being whipped.

Ann Hibbins of Boston in 1655 was found guilty by a jury but the judges refused to receive the verdict. She was then turned over to the General Court who found her guilty and she was sentenced to be hanged by Gov. John Endicott. The sentence was carried out even though she was a sister of Deputy Governor Bellingham.

Ann Cole of Hartford, Conn., in 1662, together with a man and his wife by the name of Greensmith, was concerned in something for which a charge of witchcraft was brought against them. She made some sort of a confession and the Greensmith woman confessed that a demon had had carnal knowledge of her with much seeming delight to herself. Two were executed and one condemned, but probably not hanged.

The case of Elizabeth Knapp of Groton occurred in 1671. She was subject to moods and violent physical reactions, including fits, in which she would cry out, "money, money," offered as an inducement to yield obedience, and "sin and misery," for refusal to obey the wishes of her visitant. She charged the Rev. Samuel Millard, who has left a record of this case, together with some others of his parish, with being her tormentors.

It is of interest to compare the accounts of these cases with those of Upham. He says: "Hutchinson mentions a case of witchcraft in Hartford in 1662, where some women were accused, and after being proceeded against until they were confounded and bewildered, one of them made the



most preposterous confessions, which ought to have satisfied everyone that her reason was overthrown; three of them were condemned and one, certainly—probably all—executed. . . . Another case is mentioned by him as having occurred, in 1671, at Groton, in which the party confessed, and thereby avoided condemnation.”

The first important case in Essex County was that which occurred in the family of William Morse of Newbury in 1679. There were living together, Morse, his wife and a grandson about twelve years of age. Many strange things happened in the house, according to the testimony of Morse. A man by the name of Powell told Morse that he had seen the boy do the things—and it was a fact that they did not happen when the boy was absent. None the less, Morse turned on Powell and charged him with witchcraft, of which charge he was acquitted. Complaint was then made against Mrs. Morse and she was tried and convicted. A reprieve was granted, and in 1681 a new trial was voted by the House of Deputies. The records do not show whether or not she was tried again or how she obtained her freedom, but she was not executed.

In 1688 the four children of the Goodwin family in Boston began to be strangely affected, making noises like animals, being at times deaf, dumb or blind; having their limbs distorted and complaining of being pricked, punched and the like. A pious minister was called in, witchcraft was suspected and an Irish woman—Glover by name—whose daughter was laundress in the family, was taken up on the charge. The laundress had been accused by the oldest child, a girl named Martha, of stealing some linen and there had been words between the Glover woman and the children. Five ministers held a day of fasting and prayer and the woman was tried, found guilty and executed.

Another account of this case is given by Ennemoser:

“Though Increase Mather was absent he had a zealous representative in his son, Cotton Mather, a young minister of five-and-twenty, a prodigy of learning, eloquence and piety, recently settled as colleague with his father over Boston North Church. Cotton Mather had an extraor-

dinary memory, stuffed with all sorts of learning. His application was equal to that of a German professor. His lively imagination, trained in the school of Puritan theology, and nourished on the traditionary legends of New England, of which he was a voracious and indiscriminate collector, was still further stimulated by fasts, vigils, prayers, and meditations, almost equal to those of any Catholic saint. Like the Jesuit missionaries of Canada, he often believed himself, during his devotional exercises, to have direct and personal communication with the Deity. In every piece of good fortune he saw an answer to his prayers; in every calamity or mortification, the especial personal malice of the devil or his agents."

In order to study these cases of witchcraft at his leisure, Cotton Mather took one of the bewitched children to his house and the devil within her flattered his religious vanity to the extreme. After observing her antics, among which were throwing books at his head, he concluded to prepare an account of these extraordinary circumstances. This he did—he preached on the subject—and published it. Richard Baxter wrote the preface to the edition published in London, in which he declared that he who will not be convinced by all the evidence Dr. Mather presents that the child was bewitched "must be a very obdurate Sadducee."

Upham says: "There is reason to believe that it (*i. e.*, this affair) originated the delusion in Salem. It occurred only four years before. Dr. Mather's account of the whole transaction filled the whole country; and it is probable that the children of Mr. Parris's family undertook to reenact it."

Here is an account of a trial in Pennsylvania, taken from Upham:

"William Penn presided in his judicial character at the trial of two Swedish women for witchcraft; the grand jury acting under instructions from him having found bills against them. They were saved, not in consequence of any reluctance to proceed against them arising out of the alleged crime, but only from some technical defect in the indictment."



Another account, probably of the same trial: "The Swedes who emigrated to the banks of the Delaware took with them all the terrors and superstitions which the wild and gloomy Scandinavian had engrafted upon Christianity, and a woman was accused of witchcraft by them in 1681. The case was brought to trial; William Penn sat as judge; and the jury, composed principally of Quakers, found the woman "guilty of the common fame of being a witch; but not guilty as she stood indicted." There were no more cases of witchcraft in Pennsylvania."

#### SALEM WITCHCRAFT.

Upham says "The experiment of bringing supernaturalism to operate on human affairs, to become a ground of action in society and to interfere in the relations of life, and the dealings of men with each other, was as well tried upon this people as it ever could or can be anywhere," and again, "As the fullest, most memorable and by the notice it has ever since attracted throughout the world, the pre-eminent instance and demonstration of this supposed iniquity was in the crisis that took place in Salem Village in 1692, it justly claims a place in history." Again, "There was something in the affair as it was developed here that has arrested the notice of mankind and clothed it with an inherent interest, beyond all other events of the kind that have elsewhere or ever occurred."

To attempt to give you any detailed account of the witchcraft trials in Salem would be beyond the limits of this paper; there are, however, some things connected with it that I should like to bring to your attention. The accounts state that in the family of the Rev. Samuel Parris, pastor of the church in Salem Village, were two negroes, John Indian and his wife Tituba, who were slaves brought by him from the West Indies where he had formerly lived. Upham says of them that "They may have originated the Salem witchcraft." During the winter of 1691-92, a group of young girls had been in the habit of meeting at Mr. Parris's house with his daughter and a niece who lived there, for the purpose of telling fortunes and becoming proficient in charms, magic and the like, and these children were willing listeners to the two negroes who

were versed in the folklore and mysteries of the benighted regions from which they had come.

The children, who were all girls, ranged in age from nine to twenty years. Among those who later acquired special notoriety were Ann Putnam, aged twelve, the daughter of Sergeant Thomas Putnam and a mother of unstable mentality, and Mercy Lewis, a servant in the Putnam family. In all, there were some ten of them, and these are known as the "afflicted children." It may be mentioned that there were also some married women who acted with the children, among whom was Mrs. Putnam,<sup>2</sup> the mother of Ann.

Under the instruction of the Indians, as I have said, they learned about trances, incantations and the like and being interested they were quick to learn what they were taught. It should be borne in mind in connection with this that for some fifty years witchcraft had been a problem with the colonists and it may be readily supposed that the matter was widely discussed and the popular mind much influenced by such discussions and by sermons as well. With this before them, it is very easy to understand how the children might come to absorb a great deal of knowledge concerning the practice of the black art and that with their youth and ignorance their conceptions would be much more distorted than were those of their elders. Thus there was an excellent preparation for the neurotic disturbance which the children were to exhibit later. They began to be moved by "strange caprices," that is to say, all sorts of strange antics, spasms, fits, rolling of the eyes, uttering incoherent sounds, and when these were seen by the older people there was great excitement and much concern. The news spread and the people of the village and the surrounding towns came to see them and to witness their strange behavior. The local physician, Dr. Griggs, whose niece, by the way, was one of the girls afflicted, was called in, and inasmuch as the

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Putnam was about thirty years of age. For six months she had been constantly absorbed in what was then, as now, regarded as spiritualism. Her house had been the scene of a perpetual series of wonders, supposed to be disclosures and manifestations of a supernatural character.—*Upham*.



doctors of the time were in profound ignorance of matters pertaining to the mind and were also believers in witchcraft, he pronounced them bewitched. Mr. Parris called a meeting of clergymen from the neighboring parishes for the purpose of investigation and for prayer, and when they saw the strange actions of the girls they agreed with the diagnosis of Dr. Griggs.

At some time in the affair it is stated that Tituba claimed to know how to discover witches and with the assistance of her husband, John Indian, she made a cake out of meal mixed with the urine of the girls for that purpose. Now, as we saw in the Witch Hammer that the devil could act only through witches, the girls were beset by the ministers and some of the prominent people to tell who had bewitched them. They named Sarah Good, a melancholy, distracted person; Sarah Osburn, a bed-ridden old woman; and the Indian Tituba. On March 7, all three were sent to the jail at Boston. Sarah Good was later tried and convicted, and was among those hanged on July 19. Sarah Osburn died in the Boston jail. Tituba was never tried; it is stated that after lying thirteen months in jail she was sold to pay her prison fees.

The frenzy increased and accusations spread and in the trials which followed the children occupied a position of unusual distinction. They were repeatedly called upon to fix guilt upon the accused and were the chief witnesses in nearly all the trials. The evidence consisted of fits, convulsive seizures, claims of personal injury, bites and blows, in fact the whole category of hysterical manifestations; this was accepted as conclusive evidence and to the judges of that time could be accounted for by witchcraft alone. There is a similarity in all the trials in that the accused was not allowed to defend himself, the evidence varied little, the outbursts of the children constituting proof of guilt. Many of the accused confessed themselves witches for the reason "that so many people were positive the devil had appeared in their shapes they could not doubt it was true." Persons they did not suspect of falsifying intentionally testified under oath that such things had been done and they themselves could not doubt it.

The safest way, they knew, was to confess. Others, no doubt, did not believe the testimony against them but acknowledged themselves to be witches because those who confessed were discharged and those who did not were eventually convicted and executed.

On June 10, Bridget Bishop, the first one to be executed, was hanged; on July 19, five others; on August 19, five more and on September 22, eight. On September 19, Giles Corey was pressed to death for refusing to plead, a barbarous usage of the English law which was never again followed in the colonies. In all, twenty were put to death, while two, Sarah Osburn and Ann Foster, died in prison. After these convictions the court adjourned. The regular court held a session the following January and found about fifty indictments for witchcraft and twenty-one persons were tried. Three were convicted and sentenced to be hanged. They were never executed. Four were tried in Charlestown, one in Boston and five in Ipswich in May, but there were no more convictions. Finally, in May the governor issued a proclamation releasing all persons held on this charge—about 150 in number.

Only one case occurred thereafter in Massachusetts. This was in 1693. Cotton Mather says, "It was upon the Lord's Day, the 19th of Sept. in 1693, that Margaret Rule, after some hours of previous disturbance in the public assembly, fell into odd fits which caused her friends to carry her home where her fits grew in a few hours into a figure that satisfied the spectators of their being preternatural." He says further that the young woman was assaulted by eight cruel spectres. The afflictions lasted six weeks. At last the spectres flew out of the room and she, returning to herself, gave thanks to God for her deliverance. Calef says that in answer to a question, one of Margaret's friends said, "She does not eat at all, but drinks rum." Fowler says, "She had a bad case of delirium tremens."

Prosecution for witchcraft in the older countries continued after they had been abandoned here; though it soon began to be difficult everywhere to procure the conviction of a person accused of witchcraft. In 1720 an



attempt was made to renew the Salem excitement in Littleton, Massachusetts, but it failed.

There are some items concerning the trials which may be of interest:

An extraordinary case was that of Dorcas Good, the daughter of Sarah, who was between four and five years of age. She was called upon to testify against her mother and stated that her mother had three birds, of which one was black and one yellow and these birds hurt the children and afflicted persons. She was accused of being a witch herself and Ann Putnam, Mary Walcott and Mercy Lewis charged her with biting, pinching and almost choking them. The first two exhibited the customary symptoms in the presence of the witch. The marks of her teeth and the pins which they said she used in pricking them were found on their bodies. This was accompanied by shrieking on the part of the girls. The evidence was considered overwhelming and she was sent to join her mother in jail. The mother was kept in chains and it may be the child was as well.

The case of Nehemiah Abbott is of interest as being, so far as is known, the only person who was released after refusing to confess. He was arrested on April 21 and examined on the following day. At first the accusing girls said he had afflicted them and fell into fits. Others identified him as one who had appeared to them. He was asked to confess and refused. Suddenly, Mercy Lewis said, "He is not the man." Other accusers wavered. The case broke down completely and he was released.

Parris, in his account, says that when Abbott was "brought in again, by reason of much people, and many in the windows, so that the accusers could not have a clear view of him, he was ordered to be abroad and the accusers to go forth to him and view him in the light, which they did in the presence of the magistrates and many others, discoursed quietly with him, one and all acquitting him, but said, 'He was like the man but he had not the wen they saw in his apparition.'"

The only instance there is of relenting on the part of any of the afflicted children is contained in this deposition

of Sarah Ingersoll, aged about thirty years: "Seeing Sarah Churchill after her examination, she came to me crying and wringing her hands, seemingly to be much troubled in spirit. I asked her what she ailed. She answered, she had undone herself. I asked her in what. She said, in belying herself and others in saying she had set her hand to the Devil's Book, whereas she said, she never did. I told her I believed she had set her hand to the book. She answered crying, and said, 'No, no, no, I never did.' I asked her then what made her say she did. She answered because they threatened her, and told her they would put her into the dungeon, and put her along with Mr. Burroughs; and thus several times she followed me up and down, telling me that she had undone herself, in belying herself and others. I asked her why she did not deny she wrote it. She told me, because she had stood out so long in it, that now she durst not. She said also that, if she told Mr. Noyes but once she had set her hand to the book he would believe her; but if she told the truth, and said she had not set her hand to the book a hundred times, he would not believe her."

Winfield S. Nevins in his "Witchcraft in Salem Village" says: "The writer knows of a case in a Salem school within recent years, where a girl of eight or ten years would throw herself full length on the floor, and roll and writhe and pretend to be in the greatest agony. The teacher eventually discovered the imposture, but the girl continued the performances, to the amazement and consternation of other schoolgirls. When told by the teacher to get up, she would do so promptly, and go out to play."

"The reader who begins a tour of witchcraft books with 'The Witch Cult in Western Europe,' by M. A. Murray, is fortified against an error to which many modern readers are prone. Because the phenomena of bewitchment are handily explicable by modern psychiatry, it is often hastily assumed that the whole thing was only wholesale hallucination and hysterics. Now, that men and women, young and old, were ever really witches one may be permitted to doubt, but many men and women certainly thought they were; that witches ever did any damage with



waxen images and incantations one may cheerfully deny, but one must admit that many of them tried to. That they flew through the air to Sabbats we need not credit, but they were going to them on Long Island as late as the forties, when the father of a friend of mine was taken by his nurse to peep through the cracks of a deserted barn and watch a circle of elderly ladies dancing widdershins around the 'head devil,' a masked man in a woman's petticoat, playing the fiddle—to the end of his days the boy could whistle that tune. The dance concluded, they withdrew decorously enough to Connecticut, no doubt to New Haven, for there was a coven nearby—or was it Hartford? I cannot admit the statement of one of his family's servants that they crossed the sound by changing a bone into a boat, though his account of his finding the bone buried in the sand ready for a return trip is quite precise. There certainly was a well-defined ritual of witchcraft, an extraordinary and fascinating survival; the ceremonies of the Sabbat, of the Beltane, are ancient, however dishonorable. They are, according to Prof. Murray, debased forms of the prehistoric earth worship that took to earth when Christianity invaded and conquered Europe. Their fertility rites, come down from a day before agriculture, are celebrated at the turns of the pastoral year."<sup>3</sup>

The same reviewer says that the statistics of Nicholas Rémy, the witch judge of Lorraine, based his book on 900 cases executed in 15 years; the total number executed in Germany in the 17th century is estimated at 100,000; France somewhat less, though Henry of Navarre had a heavy hand at it; there were 30,000 victims in Great Britain, Scotland being especially given to it.

#### THE MEDICAL SIDE.

For the medical side of witchcraft, the following is an extract from an article by E. W. Taylor, A.M., M.D., James Jackson Putnam Professor of Neurology, Harvard Medical School, on "Some Medical Aspects of Witchcraft":

To us the matter presents itself essentially as a medical

<sup>3</sup> From a recent book review in "The Reader's Guide," the *Saturday Review of Literature*, Dec. 15, 1928.

or a medico-social problem of the utmost complexity, involving for its proper comprehension a study of the background upon which witchcraft itself rests, its relations, broadly considered, to the development of scientific thought and to the growth of philosophic and religious ideals. The special dramatic outburst which, through a series of apparently fortuitous circumstances, developed at Salem, serves as an example merely of what, under different conditions, has occurred in every part of the world, and will continue to occur, modified only by what we call the progress of civilization and of liberal thought. To us the scenes at Salem in 1692, especially the mental condition of the "afflicted children," bear the stamps of "group hysteria," in which suggestion, self-protection, a feeling of domination, in an atmosphere of profound belief in the actuality of witchcraft, played a dominant role. The spirit of mischief and maliciousness was certainly subordinate. The elements entering into the composition of so complex a neurosis under conditions so extraordinary are naturally elusive and quite beyond the scope of this paper to discuss except in barest outline. The evidence, even somewhat superficially presented, suffices at least to advance our knowledge to a point from which a new attack may be made on the more fundamental problem, and this must evidently be the task of the future. It is somewhat surprising that commentators and historical writers should have so definitely avoided a frank discussion of the obvious medical problems involved, in view especially of the minute analysis of the actual events. Certain allusions are made to hypnotism, to mental disorder of uncertain character, to hysteria in the popular sense, and to various hallucinatory conditions,<sup>4</sup> but on the whole, those

<sup>4</sup> See Wendell, B., *Were the Salem Witches Guileless?* (Hist. Collections Essex Institute, XXIX, 1892.) An ingenious attempt, colored by personal feeling, to place some of the blame on the witches themselves, on the ground that they had given themselves up to what Wendell regards as the pernicious practice of trance-mediumship. The article is further interesting as showing the lay prejudice existing thirty years ago against hypnotism and all that it was supposed to entail. The possibility of the baleful use of hypnotic methods by certain of the executed witches leads him to make the astonishing query "Whether some of the witches may not, after all, in spite of



who have been interested in the history and literature of witchcraft have not, with equal zeal, analysed the important medical bearings of the subject. Kittredge finds such discussion out of his province as indicated by his statement: "As to occult or supernormal powers and practices, we may leave their discussion to the psychologists." And yet just here lies one of the most important questions to be faced and solved if possible. Thanks to men like Charcot, Janet, Freud and Prince, a body of exact knowledge has been accumulated, and has been available for many years, which should throw much light into the dark places of the witchcraft problem. We are, therefore, altogether justified in assuming that the descriptions given of the performances of those bewitched, of the sights seen and the sounds heard and the damage done, will find explanation on the basis of demonstrated laws of mental life, discounting always the perverted imaginations of the chief actors in the play. The appearances of imps and familiars so often described were doubtless actual animals or persons, transformed at times into satanic forms to satisfy the fear or fancy of the observer, an entirely analogous experience to the effect of fear under ordinary conditions, but naturally exaggerated through the emotional abnormality of the time. The children, ignorant, suggestible, important in their own eyes as they were in others, no doubt often fearful lest their disclosures should lead to their own undoing, provided a perfectly normal soil for what appeared to be abnormal reactions. Their acts were purposive in the highest degree and yet involuntarily and often unconsciously performed, call it a splitting of consciousness, or the weakness and falseness of the evidence that hanged them, have deserved their hanging." This, so far as I am aware, is the only modern attempt to place the blame on the victims themselves, a reversion to the attitude of 1692.

Also, Beard, G. M., *The Psychology of the Salem Witchcraft Excitement of 1692, and its Practical Application to our own Time*. (Putnam, New York, 1882.) Beard finds a ready explanation for the persecutions in the conditions of "insanity, trance and hysteria," but he fails to get beneath the words to the ideas which they symbolize. His discussion is vehement but uncritical. The comparison of the state of public feeling which prevailed in the witchcraft trials and in that of Guiteau, the assassin of President Garfield, may be read with much interest in the perspective of the intervening fifty years.

dissociation, subconscious or co-conscious activity, or what one will. Herein lies the secret of the hysterical state, as manifested in the "afflicted children." The defence mechanism naturally lay in the possibility through the fits and other unconventional behavior of diverting attention from themselves and fixing it upon the convenient person of the accused witch. That this was done involuntarily, as the paralysis or convulsion of a soldier under the stress of war is involuntary, in the sense of having no conscious relation to the waking intelligence, must be accepted if we are to gain any insight into the workings of the "bewitched" mind. The children, forced into a position in which they were the arbiters of life and death, were consciously aware of the enormity of the crime of witchcraft, and had an ever-present dread, of which they were largely unaware, of being drawn into the fatal net.<sup>5</sup> The self-preservative instinct was in conflict with a social situation in which they found themselves chief actors, and the result was the production of symptoms, which effected the usual compromise of saving them from being accusers of innocent persons, and at the same time protected them from their own imminent danger of being regarded as witches themselves. This in no way differs in principle from the hysterical reaction of the neurotic soldier, who faces death on the one hand and disgrace on the other, and, unbearable as both situations are, an hysterical compromise without volition on his part is effected which saves him from both

<sup>5</sup> It has been generally supposed that, as the excitement grew, many adults in the community, not knowing where the next blow might fall, became accusers as a simple means of self-protection. This presumably was done in many instances with conscious intent, and consequently was not accompanied by hysterical symptoms. The children, on the other hand, according to this view, protected themselves unconsciously from the same danger, through the ordinary mental mechanism of defence, namely, hysterical symptoms, which served to divert suspicion from themselves, at the same time fixing the guilt on another person. Only in this way may be explained the outstanding fact that the elder accusers, with minor exceptions, spread rumors with no manifestations in themselves of violent hysterical symptoms, whereas the children, more impressionable, escaped through the now well-recognized unconscious and involuntary defence brought about through hysterical compromise reactions. The elders described events of supposed supernatural character; the children had fits.



alternatives, but at the expense of pronounced neurotic symptoms. The principle is one of wide application.

It requires no effort of the imagination to picture the scene at a Salem witch trial, the judges, the ministers, and people of all degrees crowding into a room much too small to accommodate all who sought admission, the morbidly curious who thronged outside, the usually mystified victim, trying to protest her own innocence while believing whole-heartedly in the existence of witchcraft in others, and finally the "afflicted children," upon whom the final judgment rested, in a state of intense nervous excitement, prepared, at a word or a sign, to pass into an hysterical state. It is, indeed, difficult to imagine a more fitting setting for the development of hysterical reactions, and for this reason it is the more imperative to regard soberly and in the light of recently acquired knowledge, the apparently malicious acts of the children, who are not the least to be pitied among the various actors in the grim tragedy. The worst that may with justice be said of them is that they were ignorant, at the outset perhaps mischievous, like other children, and in the end deluded and overwhelmed by the situation in which they found themselves. The only escape from this dilemma was through hysterical reactions, for which they were in no way responsible. It will be remembered that in 1706, fourteen years later, Ann Putnam, one of the chief actors in 1692, acknowledged that what she supposed true then she had since come to regard as false, and that the devil was her tempter.<sup>6</sup> Shifting the onus of the proceedings from the accused witches to the devil was apparently to many, at that time and for the succeeding century, a satisfactory explanation, though to our minds a small improvement on the original conception. The devil had lost little of his capacity for evil deeds, but his methods had become more indirect and less concerned with immediate human agents. In this be-

<sup>6</sup> ". . . though what was said or done by me against any person, I can truly say before God and man, I did it not out of any anger, malice, or ill-will to any person, for I had no such thing against one of them, but what I did was ignorantly, being deluded of Satan." Nevins, *Witchcraft in Salem Village*, Lee & Shepard, Boston, 1892, p. 250.

lief intelligent people continued to live, and, we may surmise, many are still doing so in no small measure.

A psychological analysis of the conduct of those actually responsible, if, in fact, they were responsible for the prosecutions, as conducted in Salem and elsewhere, is a matter as absorbing in interest as that of the "afflicted children." When the reaction came in 1693 it was rather an awakening to the unavailability and fruitlessness of methods employed to suppress witchcraft than a disbelief in its reality. Cotton Mather's half-hearted recantation, and even Judge Sewall's public acknowledgment of his error, was not and could not have been a complete renunciation of their beliefs, since the devil for them was an ever-present reality, after, as before, the year 1692. Chief Justice Stoughton remained obdurate to the end of his life in 1702, and doubtless many others.

The attitude of the victims themselves is a curious commentary on the general state of mind of the period. Probably, without exception, those who were executed believed in the existence of witchcraft. At least, none denied it even at the supreme moments immediately before their violent deaths. They equally believed themselves wholly innocent of the crimes with which they were charged. It is a remarkable and most noteworthy fact, confirmatory of the incredible belief of the time, that not one among them repudiated the doctrine in its entirety, but died apparently with a sense of the deep justice of the cause for which they were dying, but with natural and vehement protestations of personal innocence. Such a strange conflict may hardly be seen in any other type of persecution. They were not martyrs in the ordinary sense, since they personally died for no moral cause, and they had not the slightest conviction that by this sacrifice they were even remotely helping toward the extermination of a pernicious belief.

The attitudes of the judges and others mainly concerned in the prosecutions, also offers a problem of speculative interest. The natural sense of justice which these persons presumably had in other affairs of life was for the time wholly submerged. Evidence was accepted at the trials



which marked them as the most flagrant travesties on the doctrine of individual rights. No defence was allowed. The accused was prejudged and the outcome was assured. The presumption of innocence until guilt be proved beyond reasonable doubt found no place in the procedure. All this, it would have seemed, must have outraged the sense of fairness of men of recognized integrity of character, but such was not the case. That even so powerful a motive as religious fanaticism should have misled men like the Mathers, one of them the President of Harvard College, Judges Sewall, Stoughton, Richards, Winthrop, Danforth, Governor Phips, and Rev. John Hale, when it conflicted so obviously with the recognized rights of men, in an ordered community, must remain one of the perennial riddles, until perchance some medical philosopher of broad vision may find the solution. One must go far below the surface of ethical or religious theory to reach a proper understanding of this strange psychological phenomenon, no less pathological than the performance of the "afflicted children."

We are on somewhat surer ground when we consider the more specific phenomena which witchcraft, at all periods of history, has brought into prominence. It is not difficult to explain most of them on the basis of present-day knowledge. The imagination, the limits of which are beyond accurate computation, is undoubtedly responsible for a very large number of the appearances and facts described apparently in good faith by many observers, such, for example, as animals of strange character, sundry unexplained noises and supposed apparitions. The animated controversy and discussion regarding spectral evidence is not difficult of explanation on the basis of our understanding of hallucinosis under normal and pathological conditions. The often-repeated details of levitation and strange blows delivered by unseen agents are no doubt partly the result of an imagination excited to such a degree as to be no longer controlled, and partly in the case of apparent personal violence, bites and the like, to self-imposed injury, of which the afflicted person may have had no conscious memory. In any event, we may safely assume

that the various acts of witchcraft are ultimately susceptible of natural explanation, however impossible such explanation may be in individual cases, with the facts now available.

The so-called witches' marks are easier of satisfactory understanding. Admitting, as we do, the power of suggestion to produce anæsthetic areas, the tests of pricking without pain or bleeding<sup>7</sup> find a ready explanation, constantly observable in any modern neurological clinic. Skin excrescences, small epithelial tumors and other localized affections and particularly the not infrequent supernumerary nipples both in men and women,<sup>8</sup> which the devil or the familiars were supposed to suck, serve to explain the "little teats," which were unequivocal evidence of the guilt of the person on whom they were found. The trial by water which looms large in the various prosecutions need be mentioned merely as a strange vagary, a form of torture, without medical significance. The often-reported vomiting of nails, pins, usually crooked, and various other objects, and the methods by which they were brought to those afflicted is illustrated, for example, in such a statement as the following: "A thing like a bee flew at the face of the younger child; the child fell into a fit; and at last vomited up a two-prong nail with a broad head; affirming that the bee brought this nail and forced it into her

<sup>7</sup> Tertullian says: "It is the Devil's custom to mark his, and note that this mark is Insensible, and being prick'd it will not Bleed. Sometimes, its like a Teate; sometimes but a blewish spot; sometimes a Red one; and sometimes the flesh Sunk; but the Witches do sometimes cover them." . . . "There was a notorious Witchfinder in Scotland (no doubt, Matthew Hopkins) that undertook by a Pin, to make an infallible Discovery of suspected persons, whether they were Witches or not, if when the Pin was run an Inch or two into the Body of the accused Party no Blood appeared, nor any sense of Pain, then he declared them to be Witches; by means hereof my Author tells me no less than 300 persons were Condemned for Witches in that Kingdom." Cotton Mather, *Wonders of the Invisible World*, pp. 35 and 248, London, 1693 (Reprint, 1862).

<sup>8</sup> Murray (*The Witch-cult in Western Europe*) quotes Bruce as stating that in 315 of both sexes, taken indiscriminately, 7.6 per cent had supernumerary nipples, and that this abnormality is about twice as frequent in men as in women. The occasional possibility of milk being excreted through such nipples probably accounts for the idea of giving suck to familiars.



mouth.”<sup>9</sup> Of course, such statements were implicitly believed and have been reported as facts. How far there was collusion with older and designing persons, how far the victims of these incidents were themselves malingerers, or the dupes of their own imaginations, cannot now be determined. About this it is fruitless to speculate in detail. In general, however, it may be assumed that superstition, trickery, self-deception, and, above all, complicated hysterical reactions, all played a part in the structure of the astonishing product which has descended to us as the intervention of the devil in the affairs of men.

When the whole subject of witchcraft in its medical aspects has been rationalized to the extent of our present ability, there will still remain the foundation-mystery upon which it is built, namely, what lies beyond the reach of the senses, and what is our relation to the “invisible world,” a belief in which persists in a large portion of the human race. Whatever our personal belief in this matter may be, we cannot refuse to consider the conviction of many thinking persons, who see no reason to doubt the existence of disembodied spirits having relations with those still living and capable of communication with them. [The story of the Witch of Endor has a strangely modern flavor, (*Samuel I*, 18).] In this we clearly see a continuation of the method of thought and belief which now, in more sublimated form, is replacing the enormity of the witchcraft persecutions of the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Upham, writing in 1869, finds little to choose between the days and methods of active witchcraft and the spiritualism of his time.

“Now it is affirmed by those calling themselves spiritualists that by certain rappings, or other incantations, they can summon into immediate but invisible presence the spirits of the departed, hold conferences with them and draw from them information not derivable from any sources of human knowledge. There is no essential distinction between the old and the new belief and practice. The consequences that resulted from the former would be likely to result from the latter, if it should obtain uni-

<sup>9</sup> Mather, *loc. cit.*, p. 115.

versal or general credence, be allowed to mix with judicial proceedings, or to any extent affect the rights of person, property or character."<sup>10</sup>

Kittredge writes:

"Besides, spiritualism and kindred delusions have taken over, under changed names, many of the phenomena, real and pretended, which would have been explained as due to witchcraft in days gone by."<sup>11</sup>

Witchcraft, including the earlier magic, as before indicated, cannot be dissociated from the fundamental cravings of the human mind, variously manifested in different periods of history, if the subject is to be studied in a wholly liberal spirit. Tolerance, still far from complete, has replaced gross intolerance, but the fundamental craving remains unchanged. The pursuit of the unknown and mysterious is still the most absorbing occupation of the human mind; it is well for us in all modesty to be charitable in our estimate of the past that we may escape in a measure the harsh criticism of the future, which must inevitably be our lot. There is no lack of evidence that beliefs widely held today will be no less abhorrent to our descendants than the fanaticism of witchcraft is to us.

<sup>10</sup> Upham, *History of Witchcraft and Salem Village*, Vol. II, p. 428.

<sup>11</sup> Kittredge, *Notes on Witchcraft*, p. 63. See also Wendell, *loc. cit.*





CAPTAIN RICHARD DERBY  
1712-1783

From a copy by Weir, after the portrait by Col. Henry Sargent

THE LIFE AND TIMES  
*of*  
RICHARD DERBY  
MERCHANT OF SALEM

Almost all the books and articles about Salem tell of the founding of the city by the Endicott colony and of the early troubles of the colony. The witchcraft delusion, which came and went in a few short months, is given most disproportionate emphasis. The writers then skip glibly on to the War of the Revolution and the great outburst of commerce which followed, and which made Salem and Massachusetts rich and powerful. What was happening from the time of the witchcraft delusion till Leslie retreated from the North Bridge is largely overlooked, but not for one instant can it be believed that witchcraft prepared for revolution, or that ships and sailors burst forth, fully built and trained for foreign commerce, from the otherwise unfertile soil of New England.

There have been a number of Richard Derbys in the course of Salem's history, but the subject of this paper is the shipmaster, merchant, and patriot, Richard Derby, who was born in 1712 and died in 1783. During these seventy-one years America grew from a scattered group of colonies, clinging precariously to the Atlantic seaboard, to a free and independent nation; from a group of fishing villages and farming plantations to a world-wide sea power not to be despised by European nations then, as in 1918, engaged in a life-and-death struggle for supremacy.

Richard Derby was the son of a Captain Richard, who was the son of Roger, who landed in this country, in Boston, in 1671 and settled in Ipswich. This Roger, born in 1643, came



from Topsham in Devonshire, which is near Exeter, and according to Perley Derby, he may have been the son of a Roger of Somerton, Somersetshire, who was an Oxford graduate and an ordained clergyman, or he might have been the son of Richard Derby and Alice Lackland Derby, as Sidney Perley says.<sup>1</sup> Anyway, he arrived in Boston July 18, 1671, and in January, 1672, Roger and his wife Lucretia Hillman, whom he had married in England, bought a place of two acres on Hill Street, Ipswich, and four acres of farmland, for one hundred pounds, and settled down. One child came with them from England; seven more were born here. He was a soap-boiler and shop-keeper, and he was also a non-conformist of a serious nature, probably a Quaker, for he soon got into trouble. Beginning in November, 1674, he was haled into court again and again for not coming to meeting. At first he was fined fifty shillings, then at the rate of "five shillings per week till they do attend," and then another fifty shillings. In September, 1676, Robert Lord, the marshal, seized his four acres of land to satisfy these fines, and less than two months later he was again fined forty shillings for non-attendance. Whether on account of this persecution or otherwise, he moved to Salem in 1681 and bought a farmhouse, which stood about where the Public Library now stands, from John Darland, for twenty-seven pounds. He carried on the business of a tallow chandler in an old soap-house which stood about where Monroe Street runs through to Federal Street,<sup>2</sup> and also that of a shop-keeper near the foot of Norman Street. Here he had a stock of Bibles, Testaments, and Psalters.<sup>3</sup> The tombstones of Roger and his first wife Lucretia are still to be seen in the old South Danvers Burial Ground on Boston Street.

In his will, which disposed of an estate of four hundred and seventy-six pounds, he gave his house to his widow, who was one of the Haskets (mentioned later). She lived till 1740 and probably occupied the house during the boyhood of our Richard. After her death it descended to the children of the son

<sup>1</sup> *History of Salem*, III, 147.

<sup>2</sup> Perley Derby, "Genealogy of the Derby Family," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, III, 155.

<sup>3</sup> Perley, *History of Salem*, III, 128.

Samuel, then dead. John received the "warehouse, lentows and warfs,"<sup>4</sup> and Richard, the father of our Richard, got the "sope house" and twenty pounds when he came of age. It must be remembered that there was a step-mother in the case, and if any of the children "should contend without just cause they are to lose their parts."

Our Richard's grandfather, therefore, tried to make a soap-boiler out of his son, but instead the son became a mariner. He was born in Ipswich in 1679, over two years before the family moved from Ipswich to Salem, where his boyhood was spent.

In 1700, while he was a member of the crew of the brigantine *Beginning*, chartered to Philip English and others for a voyage from New Providence to London with brasiletto wood and molasses, she sprang a leak and had to head for Salem. We should not know this except that the captain, Thomas Marston, and he happened to sign the ship's protest. She seems to have been a pretty rotten old craft. We know nothing further about him except that he was one of the pilots of the Port Royal expedition in 1710, and married Martha Hasket, February 25, 1702-3. They had eight children, four of whom grew up, and he died in 1715 at the age of thirty-six. His young widow was a sister of her step-mother-in-law, and it is a fair guess that, on account of the double relationship, Richard grew up in the old homestead near the corner of Monroe and Essex Streets. The family was probably very poor, as there is no record of any estate being settled after the death of this first Richard.

The step-grandmother was the oldest of seven children and a widow when she married, and the mother was the youngest of the seven, but the mother was married only eleven years after the step-grandmother.

The Haskets were the daughters of Stephen Hasket, who came over in 1664, when thirty years old, from Henstredge in Somersetshire, and was a soap-boiler with a house on what is now Howard Street, down toward North River.<sup>5</sup> He had been town constable in 1670 and, at the same time, held a license to retail strong waters out of doors, whatever that may

<sup>4</sup> See Perley, *History of Salem*, II, 357, Corwin's Wharf.

<sup>5</sup> Perley, *History of Salem*, II, 321.



mean. It would seem to mean the legal predecessor of the present bootlegger. In 1680, he signed the petition for a new and larger meeting house, and in 1683 his county rate was six shillings, when the highest in town, and the only one above a pound, was that of William Browne, who paid three pounds, six shillings. Roger Derby paid only four shillings.

Hasket was evidently a man of definite opinions, like his grandson, for he made certain remarks about Captain George Corwin which so nettled that worthy gentleman that he complained to the General Court. The remarks must have been pretty bad, for on November 3, 1675, the Court, "considering the high reflections and scurrilous imputations cast upon Capt. George Corwin joined with notorious scandal raised upon said court and contemptuous expressions relating to the major general," condemned him to apologize to Corwin in public and pay the heavy fine of fifty pounds. Hasket thereupon humbly submitted himself to the court and the fine was reduced to twenty pounds.<sup>6</sup>

Hasket had five children besides the two girls who married the Derbys, and among them was an Elias Hasket, who was born in 1670, apparently in America, but he was probably a nephew of that Elias Hasket who lived in London and was the governor of Providence in the Bahama Islands in 1701-2. He had the title of Colonel and appears to have been quite a man.<sup>7</sup>

When Richard Derby was born in 1712, his grandfather Hasket had been dead three years and his grandfather Derby about fifteen. His grandmother Hasket soon married again and left Salem, but his combination step-grandmother and aunt Derby continued to live in Salem for many years. His father died when he was three years old, so he evidently grew up largely under the care of his energetic mother, though he had eight or ten uncles and aunts living in the vicinity, some of whom were married before he was born, and others as late as 1718. Among his uncles by marriage on the Derby side were Captain Joseph Flint and Joseph Bolles, of Ipswich, Thomas Palfrey and William Osborn. His bro-

<sup>6</sup> Perley, *History of Salem*, III, 75.

<sup>7</sup> See "Notarial Records of Essex County Clerk," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XVI, 102.

thers and sisters were also about his own age, as he was the third child of the family. There were only nine years' difference between the eldest and the youngest, and the sisters came alternately with the brothers. John and Mary were the older ones and only a year apart, while four years later came Richard and Martha about two years apart. It is easy to see that the latter two must have been the playmates, while the older pair rather looked down on them after the manner of older brothers and sisters.

We know little of Richard's early life and training. In fact, he does not appear on the horizon at all till we find him bound for Cadiz in 1736 as the full-fledged captain of the sloop *Ranger* with a cargo of fish, but of the surroundings of his early life we can get a good idea by considering the events which were happening in the world in general and in Salem in particular.

#### NEW ENGLAND IN DERBY'S BOYHOOD

The seventeenth century was a period of almost constant war in Europe. During the one hundred and twenty-six years from 1689 to 1815, France and England were at war for more than half the time. After four years of peace, the War of the Spanish Succession burst out in Europe in 1701, and that portion of it known in America as Queen Anne's War alternately flared up and flickered down for eleven years till it was brought to a close by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. From Maine to Carolina the Indian raiding parties, urged on by the French, harried the frontier. In 1704, Deerfield was destroyed, and in 1708, Haverhill was surprised and partly destroyed. In 1709, an expedition planned against Acadia, for which the colonists had enlisted troops, was abandoned by the British Government to the great loss of the New England colonies, and the following year Annapolis or Port Royal, as it was then called, in Nova Scotia, or Acadia, was captured by a British fleet. This was the expedition on which Richard Derby, the father of our Richard, was sent by the colony with at least eight or ten other Salem captains to serve as pilots, and the sheriff impressed twenty-seven Salem seamen for the expedition.

Into this atmosphere of war, Richard Derby was born in



1712, and one year later the next intermission was ushered in by the Peace of Utrecht. Nova Scotia had been taken, but not Quebec, and the treaty gave Nova Scotia to England with vague boundaries in New Brunswick, then considered a part of it. This peace lasted for twenty-five years or more, but the seeds of trouble were present in the French hold on Quebec and the doubtful boundary in Maine. In fact, the whole boundary — from some doubtful point near the Gulf of St. Lawrence, vaguely following the height of land between the St. Lawrence and the southward-flowing rivers — was all doubtful, and the Indians were the medium used by both sides to drive the actual frontiers of their enemies backward. Most of the Indians in New England were more friendly to the French than to the English, and hence the contest for the next few years was rather one between the English and the Indians than with the French.

Maine had but a thin fringe of infrequent settlements on the coast, but the settlers were pushing up the Kennebec, and the French viewed with alarm the closing of the gap between the New Hampshire seacoast towns and the New Brunswick settlements which would shut them out from the Atlantic coast.

Sebastian Ralle had been for some years a French Jesuit missionary to the chief Indian settlement at Norridgwock.<sup>8</sup> He was a politician as well as a priest, and was charged with the duty of seeing to it that the Indians made it difficult for the Kennebec colonists, till, in 1724, Massachusetts lost patience and sent out an expedition against Norridgwock, which cleaned it out with Puritan thoroughness, and the Indians who were left retired to the Chaudière. Ralle was killed, and, though shot with a gun in his hands resisting capture, his death caused a bitter protest from the Governor of Canada. In the same year Dunstable was attacked and pillaged by the Indians and Massachusetts organized the first rangers, who ranged the country from the settlements toward Canada to keep down the Indian raids, on the ground that a good offensive is the best defense. Captain Lovewell, the best known of these rangers, wiped out the fighting strength

<sup>8</sup> See Governor Shute's letter, *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 1st Series, V, 112, and 2d Series, VIII, 245-58, 266.

of the Pequawket Indians of Conway in a notable fight, where the town of Fryeburg, Maine, now is, but most of his men fell in the fight. A lot of early New England ballads of doubtful literary value commemorate this famous fight, and no doubt Richard Derby, then twelve or thirteen years old, learned them by heart; as, for instance, this one which has a sort of echo of the "Ballad of Chevy Chase" about it:

"Then spake up Captain Lovewell, when first the fight began,  
'Fight on, my valiant heroes, you see they fall like rain!'  
For, as we are informéd, the Indians were so thick,  
A man could scarcely fire a gun, and not some of them hit.

"Our worthy Captain Lovewell among them there did die.  
They killed Lieutenant Robbins, and wounded good young Frye,  
Who was our English chaplain: he many Indians slew,  
And some of them he scalpéd, when bullets round him flew."

This "good young Frye" was betrothed to Susanna Rogers, of Boxford, who wrote a lament worthy of Anne Bradstreet, which begins:

"Assist, ye Muses, help my quill  
While floods of tears does down distil,  
Not from my eyes alone, but all  
That hears the sad and doleful fall  
Of that young student, Mr. Frye,  
Who in his blooming youth did die."<sup>9</sup>

I doubt if any live boy would have learned Susanna's lament, but Richard certainly knew what was going on. It was talked of at home and on the street, and I suspect that the boys, instead of playing Indians, played the game of scalping Indians, which was the popular pastime then.

#### EDUCATION IN SALEM

It must not be inferred that this youth was permitted to grow up uneducated. Even if Salem had only about twenty-six hundred inhabitants, it was interested in education. In 1712, a school committee was appointed, for the first time in the town's history, "to procure a suitable grammar school master for ye instructing of youth in Grammar learning and to fit them for ye Colledge and also to learn them to write and

<sup>9</sup> Fiske, *New France and New England*, 248.



cipher and to perfect them in reading.”<sup>10</sup> The old watch-house was voted for a writing school under Nathaniel Higginson, and John Barnard was engaged to teach the Grammar School at fifty pounds a year. All boys who could afford to paid eight shillings per year, and the balance was raised by rent of the islands and other public lands, and by income from the bequests of the Brownes and other early believers in education.

About the time that young Derby first went to school, assuming he went at the age of six, the town, having just bought a stove for the school at an expense of £8-2-1, could not find a teacher, and lest the town be fined, Colonel Browne advanced eighteen shillings to send Mr. Pratt off on horseback to Cambridge to get one; so John Nutting took charge of the fifty-four pupils and the hickory stick on July 23, 1718. It is a fair guess that Richard Derby was one of the youngest of the fifty-four. Eleven years later, the worthy Mr. Nutting had his salary raised twenty pounds, to the princely sum of ninety pounds. I suspect that Derby got all the schooling he ever had from this Mr. Nutting, for he doubtless went to sea by the time he was eighteen years of age, and did not benefit by the very generous gifts to the schools made by Samuel Browne in 1729.<sup>11</sup>

In 1718, the old court-house, where the witches had been tried, was replaced by a new one on Essex Street, next to and west of the First Church.<sup>12</sup> School was kept in the first story of the old court-house, which stood in the middle of what is now Washington Street, near the head of the north end of the tunnel. After the new court-house was built, the old building was devoted entirely to school purposes, and undoubtedly young Derby went there. The boys, inspired by the judicial setting, once amused themselves reënacting the witchcraft trials on one unfortunate playmate, when the teacher unexpectedly appeared and laid about him right and left, exclaiming, “I’ll teach you how to try witches once for all.”

<sup>10</sup> Felt, *Annals of Salem*, I, 440.

<sup>11</sup> See Bentley, *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 1st Series, I, 240.

<sup>12</sup> Felt, *Annals of Salem*, I, 391.

## SALEM IN RICHARD DERBY'S YOUTH

The town that young Derby grew up in was a very different place from what it is now, or even what it was in 1800. Just wander down to the back of the Charter Street Burying Ground, or "Burial Point" as it then was. Imagine a little pebbly beach at your feet, with a ten-foot way running parallel with the shore, and some shops and warehouses straggling along it. Then look across to where the land rises on Lafayette Street. All between is water, deep enough in the center for vessels of twelve or fourteen feet draft to lie at anchor; then follow the shore line to your right along to the mouth of the present tunnel. The shore draws back immediately to the line of the present Front Street, which was literally the water-front, with little wharves reaching out to the channel. The Brownes and the Corwins had interests along here, and their boats lay at anchor just about where the flagman stands to-day to flag the trains. Farther along toward where Norman Street ran down to the water was a wharf on which Roger Derby, the original emigrant, probably kept his shop from 1689 till toward the end of his life in 1698. At any rate, George Corwin sold him half the two-story building and wharf on July 13, 1689, and he is recorded as a shopkeeper. Other little wharves lined the edges of the creek, which reached back up Creek Street. There was a wharf about where now is the Doyle house garden and others along the shore beyond the creek around to where the road down Mill Hill now crosses the railroad track. At that point a mill dam had been built in 1664, with the condition that the owner maintain a way across the dam. From there the shore of the south fields extended along the line of New Derby Street to the site of the Naumkeag Mills, and then beyond about as now. It is well to note what a nice basin this made for small ships and for shipbuilding. In fact, the expression "Knocker's Hole," which still hangs around the vicinity of High Street, originated in the pounding of the caulkers' mallets in the old shipyards.

The old town rambled all over the peninsula between the two rivers, narrow streets taking off on either side of the Main Street, now Essex Street, and running down to the water



at irregular intervals. The more thickly settled part was between Essex Street and Derby Street below Central Street. The churches and public buildings were around Washington Street, to be sure, but houses were thickest nearer the wharves. The Roger Williams house was a farm on the outskirts, as was the Pickering house on Broad Street. There was a beacon on the hill where the Broad Street Burying Ground now is. Any one of a dozen little villages out on a peninsula along the Maine coast with a row of old houses on the main street, and smaller houses on the lanes leading down to the old wharves, will give a good idea of Salem as it was in 1720.

If from the original point at the Charter Street Burying Ground, you had looked eastward, you would have seen the wharves of the Higginsons and the Gardners, near the foot of Elm Street, and one belonging to William Bowditch on which he had built a brewery before he sold it to Peter Osgood in 1721. There was, perhaps, a cart track, but no continuous permanent public way along the water-front nearer than Essex Street, nor many lanes leading down till you got to Turner Street. Near the foot of Becket Street, Abraham Purchase owned the wharf in about 1728. He was a blacksmith, and, as his property adjoined that where Becket had his wharf and shipyard, he probably turned out the iron fastenings for Becket. At the foot of English Street was the Hollingsworth Wharf. William Hollingsworth was one of Salem's earliest merchants, and his daughter Mary married Philip English, who carried on the mercantile tradition. The wharf was conveyed to her in February, 1684-5, and it was from there that Philip English undoubtedly sent out his ships. Richard Derby bought it in 1748 and used it; later it became successively Crowninshield's Wharf and Phillips's Wharf.

In 1700, there seem to have been two business centers; one around the basin where the railroad station now stands, and another around the foot of Becket and English Streets. No doubt there were little homes scattered along between, but there was quite a group of houses along English and Becket Streets, including English's "Great House," with the overhanging eaves and many gables. On the northerly side of Essex Street, there was a row of houses between the creek which drained the swamp, which is now the Common, and Essex

Street. The best of these was the Babbidge house, part of which still stands, which was bought by Richard Derby in 1757 and left by him to his daughter Mary Crowninshield in 1783.

The Common had been set aside in 1713 as a training field forever, but it had not then been drained or leveled. In fact, it was a swamp with several small ponds and a creek running down to Collins Cove. Across Essex Street, where the Hawthorne Monument now stands, there was a shipyard which launched its vessels into a little creek that made in from South River. Beyond the Common a road ran down on an irregular line to the landing near where Beverly Bridge now stands, from which the ferry to the Beverly shore left. Somewhere on the point at the foot of March Street, a windmill for grinding grain waved its ungainly arms in the air, no doubt closely resembling those you still see in England, such as that at Headcorn or Tenterden in Kent.

The Neck had a palisade across it, and there was a fort, called then "Fort Anne" or "Queen's Fort," where Fort Pickering stands, over the maintenance of which town and colony constantly quarreled. Winter Island had been set aside wholly for the use of fishermen in 1713, and so continued for many years. There were some wharves on the North River and Pickman's fish flakes were located along that side of the town. They no doubt lent a fragrance to the atmosphere which is perpetuated by the North River of to-day.

Between 1700 and 1714 there were registered in Salem four ships, three barques, nine brigs, twenty-four sloops, and nineteen ketches, which ranged from fifteen to ninety tons burden, fifty-nine in all, of which forty were built in Salem. Ships were also built here for other merchants, notably the *Unity*, of two hundred and seventy tons, for Boston and London people.<sup>13</sup>

We should not take away any idea that even by 1736, when Richard Derby arrived at manhood, the town was a luxurious place with wide paved streets and carriages dashing about. In 1737, when the first carriage tax was assessed in the provinces, out of six coaches, eighteen chariots, three hundred

<sup>13</sup> Felt, *Annals of Salem*, II, 252.



and thirty-nine chaises, and nine hundred and ninety-two chairs and calashes in all Massachusetts, Salem had but ten chaises and forty chairs, or only fifty vehicles of all sorts for passengers for a population of perhaps one thousand families. There was no regular conveyance to Boston till 1761, when a stage from Portsmouth began to run *via* Salem once a week, and a special stage to Boston did not run till 1766. A post-rider who carried mail from Boston eastward through Salem had probably been established before 1700, but even as late as 1773, mail came from Boston only once a week, arriving Tuesday by rider *en route* to Portsmouth, and returning Friday.<sup>14</sup>

Persons could not vote unless they paid a poll tax and owned at least twenty pounds in the town where they voted. It was a sensible provision to require that a man should have some stake in the town which he was helping to govern, and twenty pounds was surely not an excessive sum even for those days.

There were no constables or police in Salem of the early eighteenth century. A bellman walked the town from ten o'clock at night till break of day, armed with a spear and hook, and "did his endeavor to prevent fire or mischief any other way, and to prevent any disorder in ye town." There was a watch-house in the schoolhouse lane surmounted by a figure of the bellman, which was repainted in 1725. The old bellman, John Meacham, received the princely salary of thirty pounds per annum, probably in depreciated currency, and cried the weather and the hour throughout the night.

In 1720, most of the larger houses in Salem were still of the many-gabled variety, such as the Pickering house, and the Deliverance Parkman house, now no longer standing, but well known from its pictures. These were characterized by overhanging stories, small leaded-glass casements, clustered chimneys, and many gables. The so-called gambrel roofs came in twenty years later. The Benjamin Pickman house, erected in 1743, still standing just west of the East India Marine Hall, was an early example of the new type. Few three-story houses were erected before the Revolution. The earliest brick house in Salem was built on the corner of Essex

<sup>14</sup> Dow, *Two Centuries of Travel in Essex County, Massachusetts*, 77.

and Crombie Streets in 1707, and there could not have been many by 1725, as there were only thirty-nine in 1825.<sup>15</sup>

With this cursory view of the town of Salem as Richard Derby knew it as a boy, let us turn back to his career once more.

#### EARLY MANHOOD

Richard rapidly grew to manhood, and no doubt like all the young men he sailed a boat, joined in fishing excursions, and perhaps went off on deep-sea fishing trips, which brought a knowledge of ships and of sailing, and the sturdy self-reliance he was to need so greatly in years to come. We do not know when he first went to sea in a deep-sea ship, nor do we know when or where exactly he got his experience, but he became independent as a very young man. On February 3, 1734-5, he was well enough along, though only twenty-two years old, to take unto himself a wife, and he married Mary Hodges, the granddaughter of George Hodges, a mariner who came to Salem before 1663, and lived there all the rest of his life. Mary was the oldest daughter of his son Gamaliel, and was born in 1713, just a year after her husband. These Hodgeses were noted for their great height, and the story is told that when the shortest of six brothers was captured by a British frigate and his size remarked upon (he was six feet six), he replied that he was the shortest of six brothers. The record does not say how tall Mary was, but she and Richard were cheerful young adventurers of twenty-one and twenty-two to embark on the sea of matrimony together, and their first child Richard was born in 1736.

On September 18, 1735, just a few months after his marriage, Richard Derby purchased from Deacon James Lindall "sixty poles of land containing a dwelling house, bake house, shop, barn and outhouses bounded southerly by the river to low water mark, westerly on a lane, northerly by land of Pickman, and easterly by land of Hasket."<sup>16</sup> It is well to note the abutting land of Pickman and of Hasket, and to remember that Richard's mother was a Hasket. In 1739, Richard bought twenty-two and six tenths poles from Benjamin

<sup>15</sup> Felt, *Annals of Salem*, I, 415.

<sup>16</sup> Registry of Deeds.



Pickman, being some part, and perhaps the whole of the land to the north, and in 1741, he bought of Samuel and Nathaniel Swasey about half an acre more near his dwelling house. This may have been the lot granted to John Swasey in 1652.<sup>17</sup> In 1742, Derby began to buy up the individual interests in the Hasket estate, and by 1748 had nearly all of it. In 1748, he also bought the Philip English property of one and a half acres on English Street, which included a dwelling house, warehouse, and wharf, and ran to the harbor. But his main block of land lay east of Union Street and ran to the water, and contained perhaps two acres. As the so-called Richard Derby house was not built till 1761, he certainly lived about twenty-five years in some other house on the property, and most probably in the James Lindall house.

In 1736, at the age of twenty-four, Richard was sailing as master of the sloop *Ranger* on a voyage to Cadiz. It is very unlikely that he made this trip before going on at least one deep-sea voyage as mate, and perhaps on several fishing voyages as a seaman, so his nautical experience doubtless began at the age of sixteen at least.

The *Ranger* was loaded with fish and manned by four men and a mate besides her youthful skipper. She arrived safely in Spain, exchanged the fish for fruit, oil, and miscellaneous goods, and got back to Salem early in May. She made a similar round trip in the autumn to the same ports, and no doubt with equal success.

The very year that saw the entrance of Derby into commerce saw also the end of the career of Philip English, who was probably the richest man in New England at the close of the seventeenth century. In 1692, English had twenty-one vessels trading with Bilboa, Barbados, St. Christopher, the Isle of Jersey, and the ports of France.<sup>18</sup> He was a man of brains, ability, and energy. As late as 1722, he was shipping goods to Barbados by his sloop *Sarah*, John Touzel, master, and no doubt continued down to Derby's voyage, the year of his death.

It must be remembered that the twenty-seven years of peace which had begun with the Peace of Utrecht were just

<sup>17</sup> See Perley, *History of Salem*, I, 314.

<sup>18</sup> Paine, *The Ships and Sailors of Old Salem*, 24.

drawing to a close at this time with the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession, which lasted from 1740 to 1748, but for these first few years of Derby's maritime life, the seas were still peaceful, though these voyages were entirely contrary to the technical laws of trade. The *Ranger* was small, however, and her hailing port was very far away from the Lords of Trade, and fish were not specially wanted in England. His Majesty's Government was not especially looking for trouble, as the London merchants regarded the trade of the colonials then as too insignificant to matter much, but let us take a brief review of what the real rules of the game were.

#### BRITISH LAWS OF TRADE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The general theory of trade with colonies has so entirely changed since our Revolution that it is well to see just what kind of economics our forefathers were laboring under. In 1668, Sir Joshua Child, Chairman of the British East India Company, made a statement which gives the attitude of mind perhaps as clearly as any. Adam Smith<sup>19</sup> and John Stuart Mill had not yet shed the light of reason on the subject of foreign trade, nor had the amateur economists of the twentieth century begun to shade facts with sentimental nonsense; but Child had a point of view of his own which was intended to represent pure selfishness, and failed as pure selfishness usually does. The only way to prosper is to make men around you prosperous, and not to make them poor. Child's statement was this:

Of all the American plantations His Majesty has none so apt for the building of ships as New England, nor none comparably so qualified for the breeding of seamen, not only by reason of the natural industry of the people, but principally by reason of their cod and mackerel fisheries, and in my opinion there is nothing more prejudicial and, in prospect, more dangerous to any mother kingdom than the increase of shipping in her colonies, plantations or provinces.<sup>20</sup>

It might have been expected that some narrow-minded men should hold such ideas, but the misfortune was that they were held by Parliament and written into the laws of the nation. By the Act of 1660, goods from Asia, Africa, and America

<sup>19</sup> *Wealth of Nations*, Book IV, Chapter 1.

<sup>20</sup> Paine, *The Ships and Sailors of Old Salem*, 29.



could be brought to England only by English or colonial vessels and must come directly. No foreign vessels could take their own goods to the colonies, and certain products of the colonies, like sugar, tobacco, cotton, ginger, indigo, and dye woods, could be taken *only* to England or English colonies, regardless of whether the prices to be obtained there were the best or not. Apart from this final restriction, this first Navigation Act of 1660 was not particularly injurious to the colonies, but the second Act of 1663 was more particularly planned to help the English manufacturers. No European goods could be brought to the colonies unless they were first landed in England, except salt, wine from the Azores, servants, horses, and victuals from Scotland and Ireland. The preamble distinctly outlines the reason, which, while well enough from the English point of view, could hardly have pleased the colonies, namely:

For the maintaining of a greater correspondence and kindness between them and keeping them in a firmer dependence upon it [i.e., the mother country] and rendering them yet more beneficiall and advantageous unto it in the farther Imploymment and Encrease of English Shipping and Seamen, Vent of English Woolen and other Manufactures and Commodities — and making this Kingdom a Staple not onely of the Commodities of those Plantations but alsoe of the Commodities of other Countreyes and Places.

It will be seen that this Act tied all trade of the colonies to England, as all importations must be transhipped there, and Richard Derby's two trips to Spain were in direct violation of it so far as most of the homeward cargo was concerned.

The third Navigation Act of 1672 prevented trade between the colonies on enumerated articles except on payment of the same duties as were exacted when goods went to England. The surplus of fish in New England was at the root of the trouble with this Act. Refuse and pickled fish brought a good price in the West Indies — it was not so valuable in England — but this Act prevented the acquiring of a return cargo of salable merchandise, except perhaps molasses.

The colonists, it is true, could send their fish or anything else, except the articles enumerated in the first Act, to Spain or other foreign countries, but the return cargo must go to England for reshipment. America was a long way off, how-

ever, and the royal arm was weak from stretching, so little or no attention was paid to the regulations. But Act followed Act pretty frequently after 1672, tightening up the enforcement. Royal governors and naval officers were held to greater responsibility in the enforcement of them, and all the time the restrictions were increased. Rice and molasses were placed on the enumerated list of articles which could be exported only to England, so the colonists took to trading with the Dutch and French West India colonists instead, till the Molasses Act of 1733 was passed to stop them at the request of the West India planters.<sup>21</sup>

This trade was vital to the colonists because it supplied a market for the refuse codfish, and the success of the fisheries depended on the sale of refuse fish as well as on the sale of first-class fish, which could be disposed of in Europe, for both were products of the same trips. The fish for which they had no market was exchanged for molasses, an equally waste product of the West Indies,<sup>22</sup> but one which the colonists of New England made of value by distilling it into rum. The penalty for violating the Molasses Act was confiscation of the vessel, but the trade went on without effective interference for thirty years.<sup>23</sup>

In 1741, Massachusetts had about three or four hundred ships in the fisheries which brought in about two hundred and thirty thousand quintals of seven hundred thousand dollars' value.<sup>24</sup> Three or four thousand men earned their livelihood in this way, and the surplus by-product was a real reason for pushing the molasses trade.

It was very difficult to enforce these laws on the open sea. The Eighteenth Amendment is by no means the first law which has found the open ocean a pitfall. Who was to know if a Gloucester fisherman acquired a cargo of French goods on the Grand Banks instead of fish? And little French or Dutch traders among the leafy islands of the Caribbean, hobnobbing with New England vessels which had discharged their fish

<sup>21</sup> Robinson, *Development of the British Empire*, 123.

<sup>22</sup> Especially of the French West Indies, which were forbidden by their laws to send it to France. McClellan, *Smuggling in the American Colonies*, 38.

<sup>23</sup> Lorenzo Sabine, *Report on the Principal Fisheries of the American Seas*, 135.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 131.



at Barbados and were ostensibly coming home in ballast, were not easily detected.

The increase of manufacturing in the colonies, however, was always watched with jealous eyes in England. In 1708, one of the crown officers wrote to the Board of Trade that one hundred and fifty-five dozen wool cards and many wool combs had entered New England as wrought iron, and the importation of woollen goods had fallen off, "which must proceed from this trade of making their own cloth . . . and if not prevented will increase." "Not one in forty but wears his own carding, spinning, etc. If the growing trade of woollens be no way prevented in its growth, England must lose the woollen export to all this part of America."

In 1742, a petition was laid before the Board of Trade by sixteen master shipbuilders of London against the encouragement of shipbuilding in America, because their journeymen were drawn away to New England and there would not be enough ships for the Royal Navy in case of need.

It was William of Orange who made the first real move to enforce the Navigation Acts. Though passed under the Stuarts, their government was so weak that few results were secured, but under William was organized the Board of Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, commonly known and hated by the colonists as "The Board of Trade," though it accomplished really very little, while the Privy Council, the Secretaries of State, and the Treasury Department, with its auditor-general of the plantation revenues and commissioners of customs, all had a hand. The Treasury ultimately made rather more trouble for the colonists than any of the others. It was the deadly tightening-up of the system that led to the trouble rather than an increase in the severity of the laws themselves. The laws of 1700 were severe enough to make trouble, but nobody paid any attention to them. As we all know, the Volstead Act is the same, but it is getting more expensive to get a drink, or, in other words, harder. That is what is causing the outcry now. The more the law is enforced, the louder the cry that it can't be.

The row over Writs of Assistance or search warrants issued to help the collectors find contraband goods was the result of new efforts in 1761 to enforce the laws of trade. A new ele-

ment at about the same time was interjected by the attempt, not only to regulate trade to benefit the mother country, but to extract revenue to help pay for the expensive wars of the middle of the century, and the Sugar Act of 1764 not only continued the odious but largely obsolete Molasses Act of 1733, but was planned to make it yield a revenue. The Townshend Acts of 1766, which included the Tea Act, were also passed primarily to add to the revenue.

This is a general sketch merely of the quarrel over the laws of trade and should not be confused with the entirely separate quarrel over taxation without representation and personal rights, which involved the constitutional rights of Englishmen, whether at home or abroad, and was brought on by the Stamp Act and the Quartering Act. It is true that the laws of trade, and particularly the Townshend Acts which initiated the "Tea Party," were soon involved in the taxation quarrel, but the dissatisfaction over the trade laws did not have its origin in the dislike of taxation by Parliament, but rather in a wrong use of that power to help the home merchants and the planters of the British West Indies.

Massachusetts and even Salem had their own particular quarrels with the mother country during the eighteenth century, two of the most amusing of which were the attempt of the colony itself to do a little legislating on trade, and the resistance to the Greenwich Hospital Tax. In 1718, the General Court calmly laid a duty on English goods and a tax on English-built ships, which caused the Lords Justices "to express their great displeasure." Governor Shute hoped that it would be repealed at the next session, and it was. It was probably never enforced, but it was certainly an exhibition of most unexampled "nerve." Equally stupid was the attempt to levy the sixpenny Greenwich Hospital Tax on the coastwise fishermen in 1733. No doubt the wording of the Act did make it apply to all British seamen, and there might be a vague excuse to demand it of seamen sailing to London, but to demand it of Salem, Gloucester, and Marblehead fishermen, who would never by any chance use the hospital — in fact, would probably die long before they reached its shelter — was silly enough to penetrate even the phlegmatic British mind, and no further attempt to collect it was made till after 1760.



## TRADE TO THE WEST INDIES

In the middle of the eighteenth century, trading with the Spanish, French, Dutch, and Danish islands of the West Indies was prohibited, but a little astute management could secure a registry to suit the occasion, and the colonial vessels became temporarily accredited to the nation they wished to trade with. As the French export duties were one per cent and the English four and a half, they naturally preferred the French.<sup>25</sup>

Derby's first voyage to the West Indies was in the winter of 1739, when he went as master of the schooner *Ranger* to St. Martin's in the French West Indies and sold his cargo for twenty-one hundred and seventy-eight pounds. His sailing orders clearly recognized that the voyage was likely to be an illegal one, for they clearly stated:

If you should go among the French, Endeavor to get sale at St. Martins but if you should fall as low as Statia [St. Eustatia] and any Frenchman should make you a good offer with good security or by making your vessel a Dutch bottom or any other means practicable in order to your getting among ye French among whom if you should ever arrive, be sure to give strict orders among your men not to sell the least trifle unto them on any terms least they should make your vessel liable to seizure — also secure a permit so as for you to trade there the next voyage which you may undoubtedly do by your Factor and a little greasing some others — also make a proper protest at any port you stop at.

This was duly signed by Benjamin Gerrish, Jr., the owner. This voyage was no doubt a success, for on July 5, 1742, Derby sailed for Barbados in the *Volant*, of which he was a part owner. This time the cargo was lumber, and no cod or mackerel were shipped. The main items were fifty-four thousand feet of boards, thirty-four thousand, five hundred shingles, thirty-five hundred staves, ten barrels of shad, sixteen horses, seventy-eight bags of corn, twenty bags of rye, and thirty-two empty water-casks. The captain was further directed to buy a negro boy seventeen years old for the owner.

During these years, Salem commerce was developing with many parts of the world. Between 1726 and 1743, there

<sup>25</sup> Peabody, *Merchant Venturers of Old Salem*, 6.

are entries at Salem from Cadiz, Oporto, Alicante, Malaga, Bilbao, Portugal, Fayal, Canary Islands, Leghorn, Newfoundland, Canso, St. Martin's, Barbados, Jamaica, Antigua, and Virginia. These were constant occurrences, as is testified by the fact that in 1739 there were twelve entries in one week from such ports, and eight or more were frequently entered in similar periods. The schooner *Ranger*, probably the same boat, but with Derby no longer as master, was cast away in Barnstable Bay on her way back from Holland in November, 1743.

#### THE FRENCH WAR — LOUISBURG

In 1739, the long period of peace came to an end. War broke out between England and Spain, and soon this conflict merged into the War of the Austrian Succession, which began in 1740. This brought France into line as one of England's enemies, and what affected France was bound to awaken animosity in America. This resulted in a rise in prices of all foodstuffs in Massachusetts. Beef, which was ninepence a pound in 1736, had risen to twenty pence in 1747, as the war dragged to its close. Wheat rose from twelve shillings a bag in 1738 to fifty shillings in 1748, and potatoes from eight shillings sixpence to twenty-five shillings. In 1748, common laborers were getting thirty shillings per day and wood cost four pounds a cord. Milk was eighteen pence a quart compared with sixpence at the beginning of the war. These prices were in the depreciated currency, but the change from year to year is not the equivalent of the depreciation and is only slightly due to it.<sup>26</sup>

Rates of insurance rose as the war advanced, especially after France came in. For instance, the rate to Antigua was eight per cent in 1743, but was double that in 1745; the London rate rose from seven to twenty-one per cent, and the Lisbon rate from twelve to sixteen per cent. This insurance was written in Boston, as there was not as yet any insurance office in Salem.<sup>27</sup>

During these years around 1740, Salem was paying about one fortieth of the colony taxes and about one fifth of the

<sup>26</sup> Felt, *Annals of Salem*, II, 200.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 376.



county tax, as well as spending about three or four hundred pounds herself. This made about eight hundred pounds in all, which was quite a burden on a town of five thousand persons.

The great event for New England in the war was the expedition against Louisburg in 1745. Governor Shirley was urged by the merchants to take steps toward the reduction of this post, which seriously menaced the fisheries and the trade with the fishermen in Newfoundland.

The French had built up the fisheries with surprising rapidity since their last set-back in 1712, and by 1744 they had about five hundred and sixty ships at work which brought in 1,441,500 quintals, or over five times as much as the Massachusetts fishermen at the same time. They now made a deliberate drive on the colonial fishermen.<sup>28</sup> Envy changed rapidly to alarm all along the New England coast. The little port of Canso had just been captured and a fruitless attack made on Port Royal,<sup>29</sup> showing that the Frenchmen intended to use Louisburg for a base for further encroachments. The expedition was a wild scheme. William Pepperell, a wealthy merchant of Kittery, who had been a militia colonel and was a man of energy, good sense, and tact, was selected to command the expedition, and Roger Wolcott, of Connecticut, was made second in command. Massachusetts provided, after considerable hesitation, about three thousand men, about one thousand of whom came from Maine, which supplied over one third of her fighting strength. New Hampshire and Connecticut gave three hundred each and Rhode Island a sloop of war. George Whitfield's motto for one of the flags, "Nil desperandum Christo dux," "There is still room for hope when Christ is the leader," was not a very enthusiastic one, but it put the case pretty fairly well. A little naval force of one twenty-four-gun frigate, two twenty-gun ships, and ten small vessels, mostly eight to sixteen-gun sloops, was got together to escort the expedition, which was loaded onto about ninety transports. Among the captains were Samuel Corwin, Samuel Grant, and Charles King, of Salem, the latter of whom had a company of fifty privates.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Sabine, *Report on the Principal Fisheries of the American Seas*, 68-71.

<sup>29</sup> Fiske, *New France and New England*, 250.

<sup>30</sup> Felt, *Annals of Salem*, II, 511.

Governor Shirley had sought aid from the British Navy, but Pepperell got off before any word was received, though, as a matter of fact, Commodore Warren, with a line-of-battle ship and two forty-four-gun frigates, had already been ordered to Boston from Antigua in the Leeward Islands. He met a Boston ship on his way up, which advised him that Pepperell had already sailed, so he laid his course direct for Canso, and joined the expedition there, as Canso immediately surrendered on April 5. There they also received the reënforcement of another British ship and three heavy frigates which came in by chance, but came immediately under the command of Warren,<sup>31</sup> so they had naval force enough for almost any emergency. For three weeks they waited for the ice to break up, while Pepperell and his officers drilled the raw recruits and Parson Moody harangued them on Sunday, for the expedition had a bit the aspect of a religious crusade as well as a military one. On April 28, they reached Louisburg.

One of the understandings when they left actually was that they had not enough guns to capture the place, and that they must capture these weapons first, but they brought the necessary cannon balls to fit the French guns. This is probably the only expedition which ever set off with such an idea, and the most surprising thing is that they did capture the guns.<sup>32</sup> Fishing tackle was also carried so that the vessels could help out the food supply by fishing in their odd moments, as feeding the expedition was quite a problem. There were about five hundred and sixty regular French troops in the fortress and perhaps fourteen hundred militia, but on the 16th of June, after various failures and rows, Pepperell's force actually captured the fortress and ran up the British flag.

The War of the Austrian Succession came to a final end, so far as France and England were concerned, in 1748, with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and, to the utter wrath of the New England colonists, Louisburg was restored to France. This peace was unpopular even in England, and one opponent of the Ministry remarked that, while the trained armies of Great Britain had been unable to accomplish anything on the

<sup>31</sup> See Shirley to Pepperell, March 24, 1744-5, *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, Series I, 12.

<sup>32</sup> Parkman, *A Half-Century of Conflict*, II, 95.



Continent, a band of untrained colonists had dealt France a fatal blow in America, and the Ministry had betrayed them by giving back Louisburg for a dishonorable peace in Europe. Even George II had declared Louisburg belonged, not to him, but to the people of Boston, and Dr. Smollett says, "The British Ministers gave up the important island of Cape Breton for a petty factory in the East Indies," meaning Madras.

Salem suffered a good deal during the war from privateers. In 1746, Captain Nathaniel Ingersoll was captured in his sloop *Swallow* bound for the West Indies, and a few months later, Captain Jonathan Webb in the sloop *Lynn* bound for Eustatia, both by French privateers. In 1748, Samuel Carleton was captured by a French frigate, and Captain Ingersoll, this time in the brig *Union*, by a Spanish privateer; but the records do not show that Derby was ever captured during these years of war.

#### DERBYS'S INCREASING ACTIVITIES

Timothy Orne, Jr., was one of the important Salem merchants in the middle of the eighteenth century and Derby's interests were allied to his. In September, 1743, Derby sailed away to Montserrat, in the Leeward Islands, as master of a sloop that rejoiced in the name of the *Jolly Bacchus*, with horses, hay, oats (presumably for the horses), dry fish and mackerel, empty hogsheads and shingles, returning the following March with cotton, rum, and molasses. Orne's part of the profit of this voyage was £380-5-9. In 1744, Derby was master of the schooner *Dolphin*, of which he and Orne each owned a third, and in 1745-6 he was master of the schooner *Exeter*, of which Orne owned a quarter, in all cases making similar ventures, going out chiefly with fish and returning largely with molasses. It is interesting to note how Derby kept acquiring interests in these ships, and from the above dates it is unlikely that he went on the Louisburg Expedition.<sup>33</sup> No doubt he was coming and going between the West Indies and Salem with longer trips to Spain and Madeira; or even Lon-

<sup>33</sup> See "Vessels owned by T. Orne, Jr.," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XXXVII, 77.

don after the war ended in 1748, though probably not before on account of the risk of capture.

It was during this period, namely, from 1736 to 1747, that all of his children were born. Richard was the eldest, born in 1736; then Mary, who married Captain George Crowninshield; then Elias Hasket; then John; then Martha, who married Dr. John Prince; and finally Sarah, born in 1747, who married Captain John Gardner.<sup>34</sup> This was a nice family of three boys and three girls, and no doubt a great pleasure to their father as he came and went on his short voyages; but this family, with its upbringing, is positive evidence that his business prospered, as at the war prices it required money to feed and bring up a family even in those days.

There is an old leather-bound receipt book in the Essex Institute, which begins in June, 1746, and runs to August, 1758, in which everybody to whom Derby paid any money apparently had to sign a receipt, and as early as 1746 he was paying considerable sums of money. No doubt much of this was in the course of trade, but unfortunately the receipts usually read, simply, "payment in full of all money due me"; so it is more of an autograph album than a vital document. In 1749, he owed Thomas Barton eighteen pounds, thirteen shillings, and on November 16, 1750, he gave a note for twelve pounds, eleven shillings, at five per cent interest, payable on demand to Bowen and Freeman, dated at Halifax; but what he was doing there I do not know, probably as captain of a ship.

There was a good deal going on in these years in Salem, for in the year 1748, four ships, twelve snows, twenty-one brigs, sixty-three schooners, and thirty-one sloops from the Salem district cleared at the custom house and carried thirty-two thousand quintals of codfish to Europe and three thousand and seventy hogsheads to the West Indies.<sup>35</sup> In 1749, Captain Derby headed a petition with a group of men who were to be excused from all town duties if they would buy a fire engine. They did buy it, and it was approved by the selectmen the next year. The owners left their shares by

<sup>34</sup> Perley Derby, "Genealogy of the Derby Family," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, III, 162.

<sup>35</sup> Felt, *Annals of Salem*, II, 258.



will, or sold them if they wished, and the old engine was still doing business when Felt published the first volume of his *Annals* in 1845.<sup>36</sup> This was apparently the first fire engine in Salem, so Derby was evidently the father of the Salem Fire Department as well as of the Salem East India Trade. The merchants seem to have suddenly realized the danger of fire, or else some enterprising salesman had descended on the vicinity, because Robert Hooper, Jr., the most important merchant of Marblehead, presented that town with an engine the same year. The engines were imported from London.

The time was approaching when the sturdy captain was going to lay aside the arduous duties of skipper and let other men do his sailing for him. In 1755, he was granted a part of Winter Island, which had previously been set aside by the town for the fishermen, to build a wharf and a warehouse. The price was a shilling a year for a thousand years, and about a hundred years later one of his descendants got a clear title for six hundred and forty-five dollars, but I should have thought the previous arrangement cheaper. I do not find that Derby used Winter Island much.

By 1757, he had already begun to relinquish his ships to his son Richard, Jr., who was then only twenty-one years old, but considered quite old enough to take a ship on a foreign voyage. On December 14, 1758, Richard wrote his father from Gibraltar a letter about his adventures, which he sent home in the brigantine *Lydia and Betsy*, another of Derby's ships, commanded by Captain Lambert. He had sold his white sugar at seventeen dollars and fifty cents per hundredweight and tar at eight dollars and fifty cents a barrel, but could not find a good purchaser for his fish, and was buying claret at ten dollars a cask, raisins, soap, and small handkerchiefs. He was trying to get five hundred dozen of these at four dollars a dozen.

There had been trouble evidently about a ship called the *Sally*, which seems to have been seized for some reason. He had got possession again, but decided to sell her, for if he loaded her for Eustatia "with no papers but a pass she would be seized by privateers before she got out of the roads." As a result of his trading he was remitting two hundred to two

<sup>36</sup> Felt, *Annals of Salem*, I, 366.

hundred and fifty pounds to Mr. Lane, of the firm of Lane and Booth, which long represented Mr. Derby in London.<sup>37</sup>

By this time the Seven Years' War had begun in Europe, and the privateers on both sides were on the watch, not only for enemy ships, among which they included those of enemy colonies, but also ships of their own colonies trading with the enemy. Between 1757 and 1764, Derby had the brig *Neptune*, the ship *Antelope*, the brigantine *Lydia and Betsy*, the brig *Ranger*, and the *Mary and Sally* trading to the Spanish peninsula and Madeira. At Bilboa he was represented by Gardoqui and Company. They often paid him with bills on London, which were good merchandise, as they sold at a premium on this side of the water. Or perhaps one of Derby's captains was short of money to buy the return cargo and so paid for it through the English agents, R. Anderson and Company, of Gibraltar, with a bill on London.<sup>38</sup>

The insurance on the ships was effected frequently by the English agents, Lane and Booth,<sup>39</sup> but a good deal was written in Salem, for in the list of policies underwritten by Timothy Orne, Jr., in 1758, are the brig *Neptune*, R. Derby, Jr., captain, in January for Gibraltar, the schooner (not brig if there were two) *Ranger* for St. Eustatia in February, under George Crowninshield. In June, the brig *Salisbury*, of which Derby was half owner, went to Statia also, and in November the *Mary and Sarah*, evidently named for his daughters, sailed for Madeira and Gibraltar.<sup>40</sup>

The brig *Neptune* was a vessel of a hundred and fifty tons, carried a crew of twelve men, and mounted ten guns, probably mostly swivels.<sup>41</sup>

#### TROUBLES WITH BRITISH PRIVATEERS

The trade to the West Indies was carried on in the smaller ships, which, loaded with fish, lumber, and grain and perhaps a deckload of horses and sheep, went peddling their goods from port to port among the islands. The larger ships went

<sup>37</sup> Hunt, *Lives of American Merchants*, II, 21.

<sup>38</sup> Peabody, *Merchant Venturers of Old Salem*, 10.

<sup>39</sup> Hunt, *Lives of American Merchants*, II, 25.

<sup>40</sup> *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XXXI, 88.

<sup>41</sup> Felt, *Annals of Salem*, II, 259.



anywhere that looked hopeful. Once the *Antelope*, having been to Cadiz, crossed to Tangier, loaded mules, took them to the West Indies, and returned to Salem with sugar and molasses. This was a profitable trip; but with the outbreak of the war, this idea did not work so well. For instance, at Gibraltar, Derby bought a French prize, a ship of three hundred tons, christened her the *Ranger*, and sent George Crowninshield out to take command of her. He loaded her with wines and sailed for the West Indies, where he exchanged his cargo for sugar, probably at Martinique, and sailed for Leghorn. Just clear of the islands, she was seized, for trading between the French islands and America, by four British privateers and carried to New Providence in the Bahamas.

Mr. Derby was very angry. He sent a sloop at once to the Bahamas with his son John to protest. She was condemned by the Admiralty Judge Bradford, and it was approved by Governor Shirley, late of Massachusetts. With the help of able counsel, John Derby protested that you could not register a ship till you got her home, and that she was not trading from a French island to America, but to Leghorn, which was legal. She was nevertheless given up to her captors at a quarter of her value. Derby appealed and filed bonds to prosecute his appeal in England, but the case was pushed through under bonds of the captors, who were mostly bankrupt, and who at once left the island. Derby was furious, and pointed out to his counsel in London, as the case dragged on, that over two hundred vessels had been taken to the Bahamas and not one had escaped condemnation, and that the judge and governor, who arrived as poor men, had retired with thirty thousand pounds apiece. He got no redress, however, in Bahama or in England, but the son of Captain Crowninshield collected this bill several times over with the privateer *America* some fifty years later. For the immediate present Derby had to be content with meager insurance, instead of a profit of seventy thousand dollars, which he claimed was his expectation.<sup>42</sup>

In July, 1759, the fifty-six-ton schooner *Three Brothers* sailed for St. Martin's in the French West Indies. One day out of Salem, she was captured by a British privateer, which

<sup>42</sup> Hunt, *Lives of American Merchants*, II, 26 and 27.

immediately boarded her and removed all the specie, about eight hundred pieces of eight. A prize crew was put on board, and she was sailed down to Spanishtown, where most of the cargo was discharged, and then she was taken to Antigua and condemned. Captain Driver protested, but she had started to trade with the enemy, though the robbery and sale of her cargo before she was legally condemned was a piece of high-handed piracy.

The capturing and condemning of colonial vessels by English privateers rankled in the colonial mind because the colonial vessels were seized by privateers in time of war for technical breaches of laws that were never enforced in time of peace by the Royal Navy. Obvious injustice and unfairness, especially when it is impossible to do anything about it, have always rankled in the Anglo-Saxon mind, and right at this point in his career Richard Derby was being turned into a bitter enemy of England, who, though she did not realize it, was to pay for the injury in due time to the last dollar.

Three years later, Captain Driver was again captured, this time in the *Sally*, by a real enemy, the French privateer *Le Tigre*, but all she did was to hold the first mate as security for the ransom and let the *Sally* go. Derby, to make good the word of his captain, sent the schooner *Mary* as a cartel, a joint venture with two Newburyport merchants who also had a man held for ransom. They headed for Cape François in Hayti, and were grabbed by an English privateer, who removed the specie sent as the ransom, and sent the *Mary* into Nassau for heading for a French port. When the matter was explained, she was released and even the specie returned.<sup>43</sup> She sailed on to Cape François, took over the hostages, and paid the ransoms. All now seemed bright, but, as she left the port, a French frigate again seized the hostages and obliged Captain Driver to sail the *Mary* over to Santiago de Cuba, where she was detained for three months and never reached Salem until six months after she had left in June, 1762.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Peabody, *Merchant Venturers of Old Salem*, 15, 16.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.



## THE CLOSE OF THE WAR

The war was not without incident on land as well as at sea. It opened with Braddock's defeat at Fort DuQuesne, which was not an especially auspicious beginning. Nor was the loss of Fort William Henry, in August, 1757, and the massacre which followed it, in which Colonel Frye's Essex County regiment suffered severely and several men lost their lives. It had been hard to raise the men for this expedition, and Richard Derby's name appears with thirty-three others who subscribed to a fund to give the soldiers the ten pounds promised but never paid by the King. Moreover, Derby, Benjamin Pickman, and Benjamin Lynde Oliver were the three largest subscribers at thirty pounds apiece, and Derby was probably the moving spirit, for the account of receipts and disbursements is on the fly-leaf of his personal ledger.<sup>45</sup>

The fighting along Lake Champlain eventually leaned toward success for the British armies. General Abercrombie was again defeated near Ticonderoga in 1758, and Lord Howe was killed in an Indian ambush as he stood beside our own General Israel Putnam.<sup>46</sup> But Louisburg was retaken by Lord Jeffrey Amherst and General Wolfe; and the next year Wolfe took Quebec, while Amherst retrieved the defeats on Champlain and captured Ticonderoga.<sup>47</sup>

The Peace of Paris was far more satisfactory than the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had been. France ceded to England Nova Scotia, Acadia, Cape Breton, and all other lands to the north, the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon alone excepted, and with them the right to fish, but only off shore. France also gave up all lands in Louisiana east of the Mississippi except New Orleans, and Spain ceded Florida to England. This finally determined that all of North America east of the Mississippi was to be English and not French, and the century-long conflict was ended.

## SALEM AFTER 1750

When peace came in 1763, Salem must have been a pleasant place to live in. Large and pleasant houses had taken the

<sup>45</sup> *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, III, 83.

<sup>46</sup> Fiske, *New France and New England*.

<sup>47</sup> See Roads, *History and Traditions of Marblehead*, 74.

place of the earlier homes of fishermen and farmers and of the many-gabled but rather cramped houses of the more well-to-do citizens. Benjamin Pickman had recently built the house, already mentioned, which still stands just west of the East India Marine Hall, in which he glorified the codfish which had made his fortune by placing its image, carved in wood, on every step of his spacious stairway. John Cabot had built the house on Essex Street opposite the corner of Monroe Street, which is still one of the most beautiful in Salem. The fine old Hodges house, near the end of Crombie Street, which disappeared behind the line of shops only a few years ago, was standing, and just one or two brick houses had appeared. Among these was the so-called Richard Derby house, built in 1761 on Derby Street below the custom house.<sup>48</sup>

Where Richard had lived from the time of his marriage is not certain, but we know, as has been stated, that in that very year he bought the nucleus of the property that later became his, lying along the water from the head of where Union Wharf was eastward a few hundred feet and back toward Essex Street a hundred feet or so. For the next fifteen years he was adding to this property by buying out the interests of the Hasket and Pickman heirs in the adjoining property, till he must have had quite a strip. There was a dwelling house on the original property, and there I imagine he lived. Felt says<sup>49</sup> that the so-called Richard Derby house was built for Elias Hasket on his marriage, and as the two events occurred the same year, it seems probable, and that Richard continued in his regular house even after Elias Hasket moved to the house on Washington Street at the corner of Lynde, as indicated in the notes to the Derby land titles in the second part of this article.

Outside the city the great merchants showed the results of successful trade by the fact that they started to build country places. Judge Lynde built a fine house on Castle Hill, which, alas, and the hill on which it stood, have both disappeared. "King" Hooper, of Marblehead, built the Lindens in Danvers, which still stands as a tribute to good building, good architecture, and good taste.

<sup>48</sup> Felt, *Annals of Salem*, I, 415.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*



In 1759, Derby had bought the place on the Peabody and Danvers Road, known at that time as the Ives Farm, and had started to lay out that fine estate. Benjamin Pickman had his estate on Forest River, not far from Loring Avenue. Colonel William Browne was still building on Folly Hill the sumptuous Hall that gave the hill its name. It has always seemed to me that he was far less foolish than the men who criticized him.<sup>50</sup>

Captain Francis Goelet, who visited Salem in 1750, thus described his trip to Colonel Browne's estate:

About 3 a Clock we Sett out in his Coach for his Country Seat rideing trough a Pleasant Country and fine Rhoads we arived there at 4 a Clock the Situation is very Airy Being upon a Heigh Hill which Over Looks the Country all Round and affords a Pleasant Rural Prospect of a Fine Country with fine woods and Lawns with Brooks water running trough them you have also a Prospect of the Sea on one Part and On Another a Mountain 80 miles distant The House is Built in the Form of a Long Square, with Wings at each End and is about 80 Foot Long, in the middle is a Grand Hall Surrounded above by a Fine Gallery with Neat turned Bannester and the Cealing of the Hall Representing a Large doom Designed for an Assembly or Ball Room, the Gallery for the Mucisians &c. the Building has Four Doors Fronting the N. E. S. & W. Standing in the middle the Great Hall you have a Full View of the Country from the Four Dores; at the Ends of the Buildings is 2 upper and 2 lower Rooms with neat Stair Cases Leading to them, in One the Lower Rooms is his Library and Studdy well Stockd with a Noble Colec-tion of Books, the others are all unfurnish'd as yet Nor is the Build-ing yet Compleat — wants a Considerable workman Ship to Com-pleat it, so as the Design is. But Since the Loss of his first wife who was Governour Burnetts Daughter of New York by whome he has yet 2 Little Daughters Liveing, the Loss of her he took much to heart as he was doateingly fond of her Being a Charming Ladie when married.<sup>51</sup>

In Salem itself there were three churches of the Congrega-tional faith and one for the Church of England people, not to mention a Quaker meeting. The Salem Marine Society had already established itself and was compiling useful records of voyages and data about navigation. The Social Library, the predecessor through a long line of changes of the present

<sup>50</sup> See Dow, *Two Centuries of Travel in Essex County, Massachusetts*, 75.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*



DERBY HOUSE

Built on Derby Street in 1761 on the order of Richard Derby





Salem Athenæum, was making a small collection of books available to a group of cultured and educated gentlemen. According to Captain Goelet, as mentioned above, Colonel William Browne had an extraordinary library of the best ancient and modern authors.<sup>52</sup> The town could also boast of a book-shop kept by Samuel Orne.<sup>53</sup> In 1768, Captain Derby persuaded Samuel Hall, an excellent printer, who had been the partner of the widow of John Franklin, brother of Benjamin, to remove to Salem and set up an office. He was a staunch patriot and presently started the *Essex Gazette*, the first Salem newspaper.<sup>54</sup> The Ship Tavern, run by the widow Pratt, had not yet been succeeded by Goodhue's Sun Tavern, which twenty years later was the most popular.<sup>55</sup>

Captain Goelet's full description of the town, written just after he had visited it, is so concise that it is worth quoting as a whole. He says:

Before proceed shall Give a Discription of Salem. Its a Small Sea Port Towne. Consists of abt 450 Houses, Several of which are neat Buildings, but all of wood, and Covers a Great Deal of Ground, being at a Convenient Distance from Each Other, with fine Gardens back their Houses. the Town is Situated on a Neck of Land Nava-gable on either Side is abt 2½ Miles in Lenght Including the Buildgs Back the Towne, has a main Street runs directly trough, One Curch 3 Presbiterian and One Quakers Meeting. The Situation is Very Pretty &c.

This contrasts very sharply with his classic dictum on Marblehead, "It may in Short be Said its a Dirty Erregular Stinking Place."

His comment on the trade of Salem is as follows:

The Trade Consists Chiefly in the Cod Fishery, they have abt 60 or 70 Sail Schooners Employed in that Branch. Saw abt 30 Sail in the Harbr havg then abt 40 at Sea. They Cure all their Own Cod for Markett, Saw there a Vast Number Flakes Cureing, in the Har-bour Lay also two Topsail Vessels and three Sloops, on Examg into the Fishery find it a very adventags Branch.

Lest we be too proud of our later anti-slavery proclivities, it is well to remember that during the middle of the eighteenth

<sup>52</sup> Dow, *Two Centuries of Travel in Essex County, Massachusetts*, 74.

<sup>53</sup> Tapley, *Salem Imprints*, 171.

<sup>54</sup> *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, VIII.

<sup>55</sup> Tapley, *Salem Imprints*, 220.



century there were always about eighty slaves owned in Salem, and that these were bought and sold and passed by will like other property, but there was certainly no general trading in slaves as merchandise for profit, at least in the city, whatever the ships may have done.

Salem was still a town very much by itself in 1760. It was off the main line of travel to the eastward, which ran from Lynn through Peabody and Danvers to Ipswich. There were no regular stages running anywhere, and if one wished to journey to Boston, he spent a couple of days about it in his own chaise over pretty rough roads. In 1761, "a large stage chair" began to run for the first time from Portsmouth to Boston through Salem. It was drawn by two horses and made the trip to Boston and return once a week. In 1766, a stage began to run from Salem to Boston, but the conveyances to the eastward gave out because of an epidemic among the horses. But land transportation of a public character had at least begun and it steadily improved.

#### MR. DERBY'S LATER ACTIVITIES

By 1760, Mr. Derby must have been one of the leading citizens of Salem. All of his six children were growing up, and they must have been a source of pleasure to him, as all six developed into energetic and useful members of the community. We have already seen that his eldest son Richard was a sea-captain of ability and skill. His loyalty to his father and his energy in the shipping industry added to his father's fortune and started his own. Mary, the second child, had already married Captain George Crowninshield in 1757, and he had allied himself to the family business organization as a commander of one of the ships. The next son, Elias Hasket, married Captain Crowninshield's sister Elizabeth in 1761, making a double family alliance. John, the third son, was a capable shipmaster and did his part with the family shipping. He married Lydia, the daughter of Captain Jonathan Gardner. The daughter Martha alone married away from the mercantile tradition, for she married Dr. John Prince, but the youngest daughter Sarah came back to it by marrying Captain John Gardner. Thus, Mr. Derby had in his own family four of the ablest sea-captains out of Salem, and he needed the

assistance of one of his sons at home to attend to the mass of detail which went with the extensive trade and to share the responsibility. This was probably not necessary when the eldest son started out, as he took to the sea, and the place was filled when John came of age, so he went to sea also. It is not unnatural that Elias Hasket became a merchant at an earlier age than most of the Salem merchants who had to begin life at sea, but he thus had more time to consolidate his fortune.

There are few men who have the help of five men of their own family of so much ability and energy in a single business as Richard Derby had, and it is not to be wondered at that the business succeeded. All the documents left indicate that Mr. Derby was a man of thoroughness and painstaking carefulness. If, as has often been said, "Genius is merely the capacity for taking pains," Mr. Derby was undoubtedly a man of genius.

It is difficult to get at the total amount of their transactions or just what they accomplished. Fish, molasses, and rum were undoubtedly the bulk of their transactions before the Revolution, but what they amounted to in dollars, or what percentage they made is not easy to determine, and I doubt if they had any way themselves of determining in advance their profit. I suspect that if a voyage could be completed as planned, with fair luck in markets when the ship arrived at destination, and without accident to the vessel, the profits were huge; that is, a cargo worth eight hundred dollars, after a year's trading in different ports might produce a return cargo worth eight thousand dollars, while the overhead charges for ship and crew would not exceed five hundred dollars. This is guesswork, however, and I doubt if Richard Derby himself, in 1763, could have told you just what he made on a voyage, or even what the outbound cargo cost or the inbound one sold for, although it was all invoiced and priced. If you get thirty-five hundred barrel staves for five barrels of rum made from a few hogsheads of molasses which were exchanged for a dozen quintals of codfish that were bought for some previous barrels of rum, who can tell what the barrel staves cost?

For instance, take this transaction from an attorney who had been trying to collect a bill:



Halifax, Oct. 18, 1763.

This day I have received of Mr. John Blackbury's attorney £93-9-5 being the net proceeds of 8 pipes of wine sold by John Burbridge after deducting out £8-6-0 Freight and Storage of 13 pipes and commission on 2 pipes at Louisburg. I enclose to you amount William Smith's draft on Chas. W. Apthorp, Esq. for 468 Dollars 2/3 the balance.

I have charged you 2½% commission for receiving and remitting this money, which is a small consideration for the Trouble of going after it times innumerable however am glad I am able to get it for you at last & am very sorry you have been so long kept out of it but I could not obtain payment of it till now.

I shall at all times gladly render you any service for I am with respect

Yr most Hum servt

Frank White <sup>56</sup>

The question naturally arises, What did he get for eight of the thirteen pipes of wine which seem to have been there, regardless of the fact that he seems to have lost three of the other five?

Here is another transaction in fish and rum, and no one can tell what the fish cost or the rum brought, and this gentleman was evidently slow pay, for a little care was taken to check him up:

Gloucester, Dec. 15, 1768.

Capt. Derby

Sir

You gave me encouragement that you could supply me about this time with 15 or 16 barrels of rum which if you could I shall have an opportunity to send for them ye beginning of ye week for which will pay you in ye spring to your satisfaction. I shall find you your balance next week or ye week after who am Sir

Your Humb. Servt.

Nathaniel Allen

We do not know whether he got this lot, but he did get some the following year as per the following entry of December 20, 1769: <sup>57</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Derby Manuscripts at Essex Institute.

<sup>57</sup> Manuscript Book of Rum Deliveries, July 6 to December 20, 1769.

634 3/4 Gals @ 14/  
 14 Barrels @ 25  
 6 " @ 27

Natl. Allen, Dr. to 20 Bbls. of N.E. Rum  
 to be paid for in good Jamaica Fish in July  
 next, at the last price, delivered in Salem  
 free from any charge, if not paid for then  
 to be paid cash or Jamaica Fish with  
 interest until paid either of which said  
 Derby shall choose.

There is a little book at the Essex Institute which shows the delivery of rum only between July 6 and December 20, 1769, and the amount delivered is astounding. The book is of thirty-two pages, and covers less than six months. I added an average page, which covers only five days, and ten hundred and sixty-eight gallons of rum were delivered to different people.

During these years a good deal of ready cash was being paid out also, according to the little receipt book previously mentioned. The month of December, 1758, shows outpayments of £189-15-0 plus \$104, and the month of January, 1761, of £254-17-10. These payments, therefore, ran at the rate of twelve or fifteen thousand dollars a year, and were evidently minor transactions, as the recipients frequently merely made their marks, though names like William Nichols, Dudley Woodbridge, and Henry Elkins appear also.

The reputation of the Derby house was extending abroad, and merchants who had once had their trade wanted more of it. There is, for instance, still a letter among the Derby manuscripts from a firm of merchants in Madeira, dated May 26, 1766, soliciting a cargo of fish and suggesting August or September as the best date for its arrival. Trade with New England had evidently fallen off, as they suggest an answer *via* New York or Philadelphia, or through their partners in Crown Court, Threadneedle Street, London. They enclosed a list of prices current, but that has disappeared. However, the attempt to drum up trade succeeded, for in February, 1771, they had occasion to refer the adjustment of a difference on the cargo of the schooner *Patty* to their agent in New York, and tendered their services for other ventures.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Derby Manuscripts at Essex Institute.



## TROUBLES BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

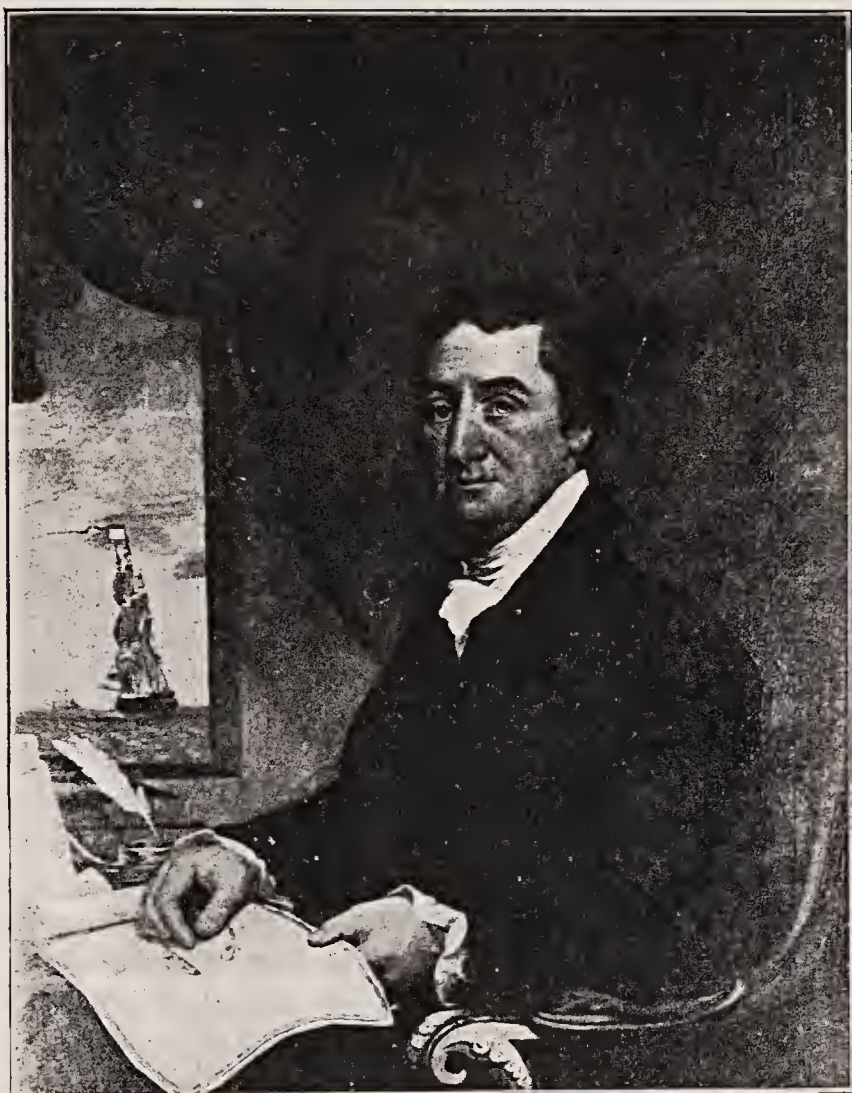
From 1760 on, the trouble over the collection of the Molasses Tax increased steadily. The merchants tried to escape it and the crown officers tried to enforce it. In 1761, the collector in Salem, one Corkle, applied to the Supreme Court for writs of assistance to help him collect these duties, and the merchants of Salem and Boston employed James Otis to try this celebrated case, which originated in Salem, it should be noted. Further tightening of the enforcement of these laws took place in 1763, and in 1766 libels amounting to ten thousand pounds were filed against Salem vessels that had not fully complied, and in 1767, the new duties on paper, tea, etc., were put in force. This increased the tension still more; more men avoided the taxes, and the unpopular informer began to ply his trade, till one Thomas Row, for giving information, was tarred and feathered, carted up Essex Street, and chased out of town, much to the wrath of the crown officers.<sup>59</sup> The Derbys were strong supporters of the association for the non-importation of goods on which the unpopular duties were to be levied, and letters are still extant in which they instructed their captains not to purchase indigo and other commodities interdicted by this voluntary agreement which they did not intend to break.<sup>60</sup>

By 1770, Richard Derby seems to have turned over the great responsibility of the business to Elias Hasket Derby on shore and to Richard and John, George Crowninshield, and John Gardner, who married the youngest daughter Sarah in 1769. If the girls were as fascinating as their father looks in the portrait by Henry Sargent,<sup>61</sup> with his white wig and his spyglass in his hand, it is no wonder that the Derby interest absorbed the best captains in Salem; and it must always be borne in mind that these captains were far more than mere sailing masters and navigators. They were expected to sail the ship to her alleged destination. They could go elsewhere, and frequently did, if a captain they met at sea reported bad markets at the intended destination. They were in entire charge of the cargo, with power to sell at such places and

<sup>59</sup> Felt, *Annals of Salem*, II, 260-63.

<sup>60</sup> Peabody, *Merchant Venturers of Old Salem*, 40.

<sup>61</sup> See frontispiece, *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XLIV.



ELIAS HASKETT DERBY  
1739 - 1799

From a portrait by James Frothingham in the Peabody Museum, Salem





prices as they saw fit. They were fighting men also, and had to know how to maneuver a ship in a fight and how to make the crew serve her guns. Finally, they had to know how to careen a ship, paint her and rig her with only the limited facilities of a tropical beach. In short, they had to be navigators, sailors, soldiers, leaders, merchants, bankers, traders, shipwrights and shipbuilders, and I find I have omitted the professions of doctors, surgeons, lawyers, and ministers which came in more often than you would suppose. For these simple duties masters received, between 1760 and 1783, from two pounds, eight shillings, to three pounds, seven shillings, a month, while able seamen got two pounds, eight shillings, to two pounds, fourteen shillings. There was not so wide a distinction between brains and brawn then, but that was because seamen had brains, too, and also loyalty and earnestness in their work. It should, of course, be added that the captains usually had an interest in the cargo and got considerable profit from trading in their own ventures.

If you look at the benevolent picture of Richard Derby and then at that sharp, vigorous portrait of Elias Hasket Derby, you can imagine very easily how the weight of business slipped from one pair of shoulders to the other, and with pride and relief on the part of the older man that the fabric he had constructed was in such capable hands.

In March, 1770, a few days after the Boston Massacre, Mrs. Richard Derby died after thirty-five years of married life. She had lived to see her husband rise from a skipper to the most conspicuous merchant in his city, with an ample fortune at his command. All her sons and daughters were married and had gone to homes of their own, and Richard was therefore much alone at her death, but not for long. Eighteen months later, on October 16, 1771, he married Sarah Langley, widow of Dr. Ezekiel Hersey, of Hingham. She was a most estimable lady of wealth and culture, who after his death, twelve years later, returned to Hingham and founded Derby Academy in that town.

So Richard Derby devoted himself after 1770 largely to receiving the honors which were his due for a long and industrious life. He was a member of the General Court in the years 1769-73, and of the Governor's Council in 1774, 1775,



and 1776, when the province was breaking away from the mother country,<sup>62</sup> and his name occurs less frequently on the papers in the business. He was the stern patriot and hater of the personal government of George III that he had always been. He resented the Townshend Acts, including the Stamp Act, as much as any other citizen, and was vigorous in his opposition.

#### FIRST ARMED RESISTANCE IN THE REVOLUTION

On February, 1775, occurred the first armed resistance to the British troops in America. Colonel Leslie was sent by General Gage with a regiment of British troops to Salem, to capture some cannon known to be stored there. The soldiers landed in Marblehead and marched the five miles to Salem. Marblehead's Committee of Public Safety, under Deacon Stephen Phillips, its chairman, sent warning post-haste; the churches closed at once (it was Sunday) and an excited but sullen crowd of citizens gathered in the street near the courthouse, where Leslie had halted. Leslie was a cooler man than Pitcairn, but he demanded to know where the cannon were. Old Richard Derby stepped out to defy him.

"Find them if you can. They will never be surrendered," he said.

Samuel Porter, a young lawyer and a Loyalist who later lived in London, indicated the road to North Salem. Leslie marched on to the North Bridge, where the minute men had raised the draw and stood ready for eventualities on the farther bank. The situation was tense, but old Dr. Barnard, in his position of minister of the Gospel, at once assumed the rôle of peacemaker. Negotiations continued, honor was saved by lowering the bridge, and Leslie returned to Boston, having done nothing. If Leslie had used at North Bridge the historic words, "Disperse, ye rebels!" instead of yielding to the persuasions of Dr. Barnard, the first battle of the Revolution would have laid a bloody trail from Salem North Bridge back to the boats in Marblehead, instead of from Concord to Charlestown, as it did two months later. It was the moderation of the British officer, not a difference in the spirit of the provincial troops, that changed the situation. Here, therefore,

<sup>62</sup> Hunt, *Lives of American Merchants*, II, 27.

was the first organized armed resistance of the Revolution, and it was evidently not Richard Derby's fault that peace prevailed. Some of the guns belonged to him. Leslie was not turned back by gentle words. It was the companies of minute men with guns in their hands across the bridge that gave force to Dr. Barnard's arguments. The Danvers minute men, six of whom were killed in the retreat from Concord in April, came marching down to North Bridge just as Leslie turned back.

This incident probably strengthened the orders which Gage issued to the Concord expedition. It was not to his advantage to parley while the province organized and armed itself. He would better have pushed the matter at Salem.

#### SALEM SENDS THE NEWS OF CONCORD AND LEXINGTON TO ENGLAND

But Salem also had its part to do in connection with the fight at Lexington and Concord. When the Provincial Congress met at Concord on Saturday, April 22, three days after the Lexington fight, a committee of eight, headed by Elbridge Gerry, of Marblehead, was appointed "to take depositions *in perpetuam* from which a full account of the transactions of the troops under General Gage in their route to and from Concord, etc. on Wednesday last may be collected to be sent to England by the first ship from Salem."

This was no inconsiderable task, but, as we know from the controversies over who started first in the Great War, the human mind attaches vast importance to the question of who starts a fight. On Tuesday afternoon a letter came from Salem urging the utmost haste,<sup>63</sup> and was forwarded to the committee then at work in Lexington. It is not stated who wrote this letter, but the very next day it was "*ordered*, That the copies of the order of the Hon. Richard Derby, Esq. for fitting out his vessel for a Packet be taken and authenticated by the President *pro tempore* and Ordered that the Hon. Richard Derby, Esq.'s orders to the treasury be also authenticated by the President *pro tempore*." <sup>64</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Force, *American Archives*, 4th Series, II, 767.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 769.



On Thursday, April 27, the Committee of Public Safety <sup>65</sup> resolved "that Captain Derby be directed and he hereby is directed to make for Dublin or any good port in Ireland and from thence to cross to Scotland or England and hasten to London. This direction is so that he may escape all cruisers that may be in the chops of the channel to stop the communicating of the Provincial Intelligence to the agent."

John Derby, who sailed in the ship, was a son of our Richard, and the papers he carried are in the archives of the Provincial Congress in full <sup>66</sup> in the shape of a letter, accompanying a declaration supported by affidavits, to Benjamin Franklin, the colony agent in London, as evidently they did not know he was then on the water *en route* to America. After the usual compliments and a request to supply Captain Derby on the credit of the colony, the letter continues:

But we most ardently wish that the several papers herewith enclosed may be immediately printed and dispersed through every town in England and especially communicated to the Lord Mayor, aldermen and councilmen of the city of London that they may take such order thereon as they think proper and we are confident that your fidelity will make such improvement of them as shall convince all who are not determined to be in everlasting blindness, that it is the united efforts of both Englands that must save either. But that whatever price our brethren in the one may be pleased to put on their constitutional liberties, we are authorized to assure you that the inhabitants of the other with the greatest unanimity are inflexibly resolved to sell theirs only at the price of their lives.

Signed by order of the Provincial Congress.

Jos. Warren, President pro tem.

There was enclosed an appeal to the inhabitants of Great Britain, signed by Warren, and twenty affidavits authenticated by notarial certificates in the most legal fashion, all to the effect that the troops fired first and without provocation. Two of these affidavits were from British soldiers, evidently captives; the rest, in some cases signed by fifteen or twenty men, were all by Americans.

When the letters reached Salem on the morning of April 27, the schooner *Quero* of sixty tons, in ballast, with a daring crew, was all ready to leave. John Derby went on board

<sup>65</sup> Force, *American Archives*, 4th Series, II, 747.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 488.

with the letters and Captain William Carleton, the sailing master, got up sail. Next morning she had vanished and the sloop of war *Lively*, which had been hanging around off Marblehead, had not seen her go. Four days before, General Gage had sent his despatches by the ship *Sukey*, Captain William Brown, but she was a fully loaded ship of two hundred tons and not so fast.

Haste was essential, however, and Derby took the quickest route to London. The instruction to land in Ireland was probably merely a blind, and Derby was probably put ashore from an open boat on the Isle of Wight, while the *Quero* dropped back to Falmouth before entering in England. Anyway, Derby's expense account shows expenses from the Isle of Wight to London, and Hutchinson's diary says he was supposed to have come that way, though the King's officers could not discover when, or where his ship was.

Anyhow, he got to London Sunday evening, May 28, with his official despatches, which he at once turned over to Arthur Lee, acting provincial agent, and also copies of the *Salem Gazette* of April 21 and April 25, with accounts of Lexington, probably written by Timothy Pickering. Hutchinson somewhat bitterly remarks that "the conduct of the Boston Leaders is much the same as it was after the inhabitants were killed the 5th of March 1770. They hurry away a vessel that their partial account may make the first impression." Arthur Lee, the provincial agent, pressed the advantage by broadcasting his news far and wide. Those who remember the impression made by the first German account of the Jutland naval fight in the Great War can easily see how great the advantage was. The Ministry, still in utter ignorance, tried to discount the news. Lord Dartmouth announced May 30, 1775:<sup>67</sup>

A report having been spread and an account printed and published of a skirmish between some of the people of the province of Massachusetts Bay and a detachment of His Majesty's troops, it is proper to inform the public that no advices have yet been received in the American Department of any such event.

There is reason to believe that there are despatches on board the *Sukey*, Capt. Brown, which though she sailed four days before the vessel that brought the printed accounts is not yet arrived.

<sup>67</sup> *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XXXVI, 6.



Arthur Lee, provincial agent, tartly replied:

London, May 30. As a doubt of the authenticity of the account from Salem touching an engagement between the King's Troops and the Provincials of Massachusetts Bay may arise from a paragraph in the Gazette of this evening, I desire to inform all those who wish to see the original affidavits . . . that they are deposited at the Mansion House with the Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor for their inspection.

When the *Sukey* arrived, her news was pretty stale, and, as the newspapers couldn't see much difference, the American point of view prevailed. The main dispute seemed to be whether the British troops retreated or were routed. The London press sarcastically closed their discussion by remarking, "Whether they marched like mutes at a funeral or fled like the relations and friends of the present ministry after Culloden is left entirely to the conjecture of the reader."

Meanwhile it had finally occurred to the Ministry to get hold of Derby and get further details, as he was reported to be *en route* to Spain for ammunition, but now Derby had disappeared, and by the time they learned that the *Quero* was at Falmouth, she had also sailed. In fact, her entry at Falmouth was probably delayed till Derby was about ready to leave. He simply took a seat in the post-chaise, somewhere outside of London, for Portsmouth and changed into another for Falmouth. On July 19, the *Quero* reached Salem and entered from Falmouth in ballast, William Carleton, master, no passengers. All quite true, but her important passenger had nevertheless reported to General Washington<sup>68</sup> at Cambridge the day before, with secret despatches, and again did not report how or where he got ashore, but probably north of Cape Ann to make sure to avoid the English cruisers. The trip cost £143-9-2½ and was duly paid for August 1, 1775. Derby charged £5-0-8 for his expenses in England, but also includes this entry:

To my time in executing the voyage from hence to London and back . . . . . Nothing<sup>69</sup>

<sup>68</sup> See Washington's Letter to Congress, *Works*, edited by Jared Sparks, 1834, III, 35.

<sup>69</sup> Full account, Robert S. Rantoul, "Voyage of the *Quero*," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XXXVI, 1-30.

## LAST YEARS

Richard Derby was of the aggressive temperament which enjoys a fight and whose spirits rise with the occasion. On May 9, or a few days after the *Quero* had gone, he wrote an account of Lexington to Daniel Hathorne, captain of his schooner *Polly* in the West Indies, and, after describing the battle and regretting the losses, he adds:

However they got a dire drubbing so they have not played ye Yankee tunes since. . . . We have no Tories save what is now shut up in Boston or gone off. There has not as yet been any stopping of ye trade so I would have you get a load of molasses as good and cheap and as quick as you can and proceed home.<sup>70</sup>

It is evident that there was no weakening of spirit, but merely a desire to get his ship home and out of harm's way. As the year wore on, the wisdom and necessity of this became more and more apparent.

The Derby schooner *Jamaica Packet* under Captain Ingersoll was captured on the way home from Jamaica and carried into Boston, where she was detained till the evacuation and then burned. There were three vessels at Hispaniola under the general charge of Captain Nathaniel Silsbee in February, 1776, and Captain Hallet was sent down in the *Nancy* with instructions. Captain Silsbee got her loaded and headed back so that she arrived in Portland, Maine, with a valuable cargo which sold at a good profit, but two of the other three vessels sent north were captured, and by the summer of 1776 the house of Derby started retaliation. In June, the schooner *Sturdy Beggar*, of sixty tons, with six carriage guns and twenty-five men, was sent out, and in September, the *Revenge* with twelve guns. The latter had a most successful cruise, and she sent in four Jamaica ships with over seven hundred hogsheads of sugar. Gradually the armed ships increased, and of the one hundred and fifty-eight sent out from Salem during the war, the Derbys appeared as owners or part owners of twenty-five and doubtless had shares in many more.<sup>71</sup>

As the war progressed, it became evident that these ventures were more and more the work of the younger rather than

<sup>70</sup> *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XXXVI, 16.

<sup>71</sup> Peabody, *Merchant Venturers of Old Salem*, 45.



the older Derby. He lived, however, to see the first news of the Treaty of Peace at Paris brought into Salem by the Derby ship *Astrea* on March 12, 1783, just as the first news of hostilities had been taken out by the *Quero*. Still, his story was drawing to a close. On October 27, 1783, he made his will, and on November 9, just a fortnight later, he died, and was buried in the big square tomb which stands on the left of the path as you enter the Charter Street Burying Ground.

In his will he divided a property worth at least twenty thousand, eight hundred pounds as he valued it, and, as much of it was in houses and lands at values which seem to us absurd, and as there was an unitemized residue, it certainly amounted to well above one hundred thousand dollars and probably above two hundred thousand dollars. He gave to his widow all the goods and chattels she brought on her marriage, his chariot and chariot horses, his slave child Peggy, and one hundred pounds a year. To each of his living daughters he gave the house she had lived in when first married, household goods, a negro slave, and cash to make a total of thirty-four hundred pounds to each, and to the orphan children of Sarah each one thousand pounds in cash and other things to make their total an equivalent amount. He gave his son, Elias Hasket, certain land whereon "his warehouse stands," and to Richard's children "the mansion house, wharf and buildings thereon which I gave to my son Richard late deceased." These were merely specific items which were assigned to certain heirs out of the residue, which was divided into thirds. There is no mention of ships or merchandise and no statement of the full value. Elias Hasket, John, and John Gardner 3d were made the executors, and the will was probated promptly December 3, 1783.

Thus lived a great Salem merchant of the eighteenth century and the founder of the Derby fortunes. Undoubtedly a man of great energy and ability, he was upright and honorable in all his dealings and a lover of his town and country. The injustice of the British maritime policy made a deep impression on him in his early life as a merchant. He lost heavily through the injustice of the English administrators in the Bahamas and the West Indies, and he bitterly resented an injustice he was powerless to overcome. This point of view

stayed by him, and neither age nor the increasing responsibilities of wealth prevented his staking everything on the liberty of his country. From the beginning to the end of the Revolution, the house of Derby never faltered in its support of the wavering fortunes of the colonies. Though primarily a man of business, rather than a man of public affairs, he was sufficiently committed to have lost everything had the Revolution failed. Though there were noisier and more conspicuous patriots than he and his sons, I doubt if any one in the colonies gave more effective and valuable support to the cause along practical and useful lines. It was the energetic and well-to-do men of his type doing their daily tasks efficiently in a hundred different ways who supplied the sinews of war that made America free.

## NOTES

Affidavit of Elizabeth Hasket, Richard Derby's grandmother, as printed in the *New England Historical Genealogical Register*, Vol. 29, p. 110, quoted from the Notarial Records of the Essex County Massachusetts Clerk:

Elizabeth Haskitt's oath and certificate Entered May 30th, 1698. Mrs. Elizabeth Haskitt widow formerly the wife of Stephen Haskitt of Salem personally appeared (before me) ye subscriber and made oath that she hath six children living (viz) one sonne whose name is Elias Haskitt aged about Twenty Eight years and five Daughters Elizabeth Mary Sarah Hannah and Martha all of which she had by her husband ye above said Mr. Stephen Haskitt & were his children by him begotten of her body in Lawfull Wedlock being married to him by Doctor Ceanell in Exeter in ye Kingdom of England & whose sd husband served his time with one Mr. Thomas Oburne a chanceler and sope boiler in sd place & was ye reputed Sonne of — Haskitt of Henstredge (so called) in Summersetshire in sd Kingdom of England and hav often heard my sd husband say that he had but one brother whose name was Elias Hasket & that he lived in said Towne of Henstredge.

Elizabeth Haskitt

Sworne Salem May ye 30th 1698 before me John Hathorne one of ye Councill & Justice pe & Q in ye County of Essex in his Majties province of ye Massachusetts Bay in New England.



## PRE-REVOLUTIONARY VESSELS

The colonial trading vessels were all small and lent themselves to the small ventures which were the custom of the times. The colonies in New England would have found it difficult to collect the outward cargoes for a large ship or to absorb the merchandise which could have been brought back. Few vessels in the Salem trade exceeded one hundred tons. The earliest picture of a Salem vessel is of the schooner *Baltick* in 1765. The earliest known original painting of a colonial vessel is that of the ship *Bethel* of 1745, in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Both of the above ships, with pictures of the *Quero* and the schooner *Hannah* of 1775, claimed to be the first armed Continental cruiser, are shown in the illustrations of "Colonial Trade and Commerce," by Francis B. C. Bradlee, a very interesting and valuable paper reprinted from the *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, Volume LXIII.

NON-IMPORTATION AGREEMENT OF THE SALEM  
MERCHANTS

Salem, Sept. 6. "The Merchants and Traders in this Town having had several Meetings to consult Measures for the better Regulation of the Trade, which at present labours under great Difficulties and Discouragements; and being convinced that a further Importation of unnecessary Goods from Great-Britain would involve the Importers in still greater Difficulties and render them unable to pay the Debts due to the Merchants in Great-Britain, they unanimously VOTED not to send any further Orders for Goods to be shipped this Fall; and that from the first of January 1769 to the first of January 1770, they will not send for or import, either on their own account or on Commissions, or purchase of any Factor or others, who may import any Kind of Goods or Merchandizes from Great-Britain, except Coal, Salt and some Articles necessary to carry on the Fishery. They likewise agreed not to import any Tea, Glass, Paper or Painters Colours until the Acts imposing Duties on those Articles are repealed." *Essex Gazette*, September 6, 1768.

## WORKS CONSULTED

## TOWN HISTORIES

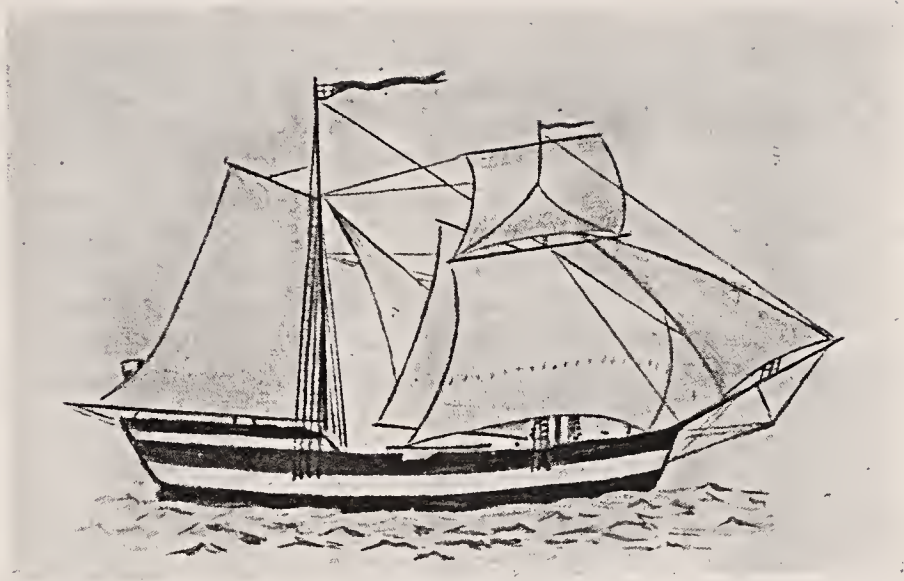
Joseph B. Felt, *Annals of Salem*.

I, Second Edition, Salem, 1845.

II, Second Edition, Salem, 1849.

Sidney Perley, *History of Salem*, I-III, 1924-26.

J. W. Hanson, *History of the Town of Danvers*, 1848.



SCHOONER BALTIC  
Type of Pre-revolutionary Salem Vessel





Joseph B. Felt, *History of Ipswich, Essex, and Hamilton*, 1834.  
 Samuel Roads, Jr., *History and Traditions of Marblehead*, 1897.

#### SPECIAL ARTICLES AND LOCAL BOOKS

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 Robert S. Rantoul, "Voyage of the *Quero*," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XXXVI, 1-30.  
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*New England Historical and Genealogical Register.*

*Note.* In all of the above there are many notes, reprints of documents and genealogical comments of great value, but too numerous to list separately.

I am also greatly indebted to Mr. George Francis Dow and to Miss Harriet S. Tapley, who have read the manuscript and helped me with advice and suggestions.

## THE GREAT AWAKENING

By REV. THOMAS HENRY BILLINGS, PH. D.

"Monday, September 29, 1740. Set out about seven in the morning. Got to Marble Head, a large town twenty miles from Boston. About eleven preached to some thousands in a broad place in the middle of the town, but not with much visible effect. Rode to Salem and preached there also to about 2000. Here the Lord manifested forth His glory. In every part of the congregation persons might be seen under great concern and one, Mr. Clark, a good minister as is granted by all I conversed with, seemed to be almost in heaven. After the exercise was over, I immediately set out and got to Ipswich, another large town sixteen miles (the way we went) distant from Salem. Two or three gentlemen came to meet me, and I and my friends were most kindly entertained at the house of the Rev. Mr. Rogers, a venerable old man, one of the ministers of the place. The Lord reward him and all others a thousandfold who refresh our bowels in the Lord."<sup>1</sup>

This is an extract from the journal of Whitefield, the associate of John and Charles Wesley. His visit to America came in the midst of the movement which we are to consider, the revival of religion, usually, because of the extent of its influence, known as "The Great Awakening." The movement began in the town of Northampton, in the winter of 1734-35, and was at its height during the decade from 1740 to 1750. To the people of that day the manifestations that accompanied the revival seemed to be the direct effect of supernatural power. Not all observers believed that this power was of God. Some, and notably the Rev. Dr. Charles Chauncey, pastor of the First Church of Christ in Boston, believed that it was due to the devil. There was no doubt on the part of anybody that the conversions, the emotional and physical disturbances, were supernatural in origin.

The movement spread throughout all the colonies from

<sup>1</sup> Whitefield's Journal, London, 1756, page 397.



Maine to Georgia and was by no means confined to this country. Rev. John Cleaveland of Chebacco, now Essex, was an enthusiastic believer and on one occasion, October 15, 1743, burst into poetry, which, even if it is not inspired may be quoted to show the extent of the movement.<sup>2</sup>

Many in these latter days  
Have experienced Jesus' grace.  
Souls in Europe not a few  
Find the gospel tidings true.

Britons Isle has caught the flame.  
Many love and know thy name  
Both in England and in Wales  
And in Scotland grace prevails.  
London, Wilts and Gloucestershire  
Feels our Saviour very dear.  
Bristol sinners seek the Lord,  
And in Kingswood he's adored.  
And a few sheep here and there  
Are beloved in Oxfordshire.  
At New Castle and near York  
We are told God is at work  
And in many sinners hearts  
Who're unknown, in various parts.  
By whatever means he will  
We are bound to thank him still.  
And our Shepherd's arms infolds  
Edinburgh and Glasgow souls  
Muttel, Kilsyth, Cambuslang  
Late of Jesus' blood have sang.  
Carry on your work with power  
Every day and every hour.  
Still let thousands in the north  
Know the great Redeemer's worth.  
Many Germans walk with God  
Thru the virtue of Christ's blood  
Self deny the cross take up.  
They no doubt with Christ shall sup.  
What they know not teach them Lord!  
Souls they do love thy word.

<sup>2</sup> Cleaveland Manuscripts, Essex Ins itute.

In the "Christian History," a periodical issued in Boston at this time, edited by Mr. Thomas Prince, reports were received from England, Scotland and the North of Ireland. Manifestations similar to those occurring in America were common in all districts where the same sort of preaching took place.

The movement in England under John Wesley began one of the most significant social and religious movements of the Eighteenth Century, largely because Wesley reached a section of the population of England that was at this time neglected and submerged. He thought no human being too degraded to respond to the influence of God and we find this cultivated Oxford gentleman moving by his words great audiences of illiterate, degraded miners, so low down in the scale of civilization that they were hardly regarded as human. Wesley's organizing genius and his amazing social intelligence led to the permanent uplifting of great masses of the English people and to the development of philanthropy and education on a scale such as had never been dreamed of before. In this country the final effect was quite different, but we must not lose sight of the fact that in all essentials the two movements were one.

In order to understand what took place, it is necessary to enter into a state of mind foreign to most that are likely to read this paper. It was a period when the belief in the supernatural was very real. The witchcraft episode in Salem was still vividly remembered and while men may have believed that the persons accused were for the most part innocent, that was not inconsistent with the belief in the direct interference of evil powers in the life of men. Even where people had lost their belief in supernatural manifestations of evil, they still believed in supernatural manifestations of good. God, or Providence, was a very real factor always to be considered. Again we can hardly estimate the force of their preoccupation with the thought of hell. To them, hell was a vivid reality. One of the most popular books of the day was Michael Wigglesworth's "Day of Doom." It is a



long poem reiterating and picturing in vivid detail what hell is like.

For day and night in their despite  
Their torment's smoke ascendeth  
Their pain and grief have no relief,  
Their anguish never endeth,

Who live to lie in misery  
And bear eternal woe.  
And live they must while God is just,  
That He may plague them so.<sup>3</sup>

A verse from one of their hymns shows the same pre-occupation:

My thoughts on awful subjects roll,  
Damnation and the dead.  
What horrors seize a guilty soul  
Upon a dying bed!

It is hard for us to realize the fear to which such a belief gives rise, and the way in which it may haunt the consciousness of sensitive souls. The mental agony that many persons endured in that day will hardly bear thinking of.

Another one of their fundamental beliefs was that human beings are of themselves naturally depraved. It is easy for us to make a joke of this today, but picture to yourself what went on in the minds of some of these sensitive young Puritans, who believed firmly in the existence of God and the devil and who felt in their own bodies the warfare between good and evil. The devil has always had a close connection with the flesh. Paul cries out, "I am carnal, sold unto sin," and this fiery Puritan of the first century spoke a language that the Puritans of eighteenth century America thoroughly understood. It is not much wonder that we find in many of them a morbid fear of the natural. The youthful Bunyan in England found no peace until he had given up playing tip-cat on Sunday. This was the last stronghold of the evil one in his soul. Puritans in America were the same.

<sup>3</sup> Pancoast, "American Literature," p. 64.

This mood of fear and of helplessness was latent in the religion of the day but it was accentuated in the colonies by the experiences through which they had passed, the long struggle with the French and Indians, the feeling of insecurity that the Deerfield massacre gave, the seeming impossibility of gaining a reasoned security. The state of mind is comparable to the 'failure of nerve' in the Greco-Roman world to which Prof. Gilbert Murray assigns a determining place in the religion of a whole era. There was the same sense of helplessness before forces that might destroy life, the same search for mystical assurance.

There was, in spite of the belief in hell and in the guilt of the natural, considerable moral laxity. Jonathan Edwards tells of the decay of morals in Northampton. "Just after my grandfather's death it seemed to be a time of extraordinary dulness in religion. Licentiousness for a great many years greatly prevailed among the youth of the time. They were many of them very much addicted to nightwalking and frequenting the tavern and lewd practices, wherein some, by their example, exceedingly corrupted others." One sin to which he greatly objects is the indulgence in what he calls 'frolicks' which so far as I can find out were no more than innocent merry-making. Some observers claimed that Edwards' account of the wickedness of his day is greatly exaggerated. That there was lax morality no one can deny, but there is a tendency in all movements of this kind to darken the picture in order to heighten the effect that the revival produces. The sins that worried people most were on the whole rather trivial and we find even the lax among them willing publicly to confess their sins and undergo humiliation, in order to be even approximately free from the dread of hell. The practice of public confession is only one manifestation of the need that people felt for assurance. In any time of fear men tend to seek something to bolster up their courage and to restore the lost sense of security. The assurance is often based not on a reasoned hope, but on a conviction reached by other than rational means, through some emotional experience.



To the people of Edwards' day the coming of this assurance of salvation was identified with conversion. Conversion was a mystical and inexplicable experience, a free gift of God.

Edwards, who was one of the first to study religious psychology, outlines the process in his "Treatise on the Religious Affections." This process became so stereotyped in Evangelical groups that one of the officials of a church I knew some years ago objected to a young student leading a devotional meeting in the church, on the ground that he had gone only part way through the process. The stages are as follows:

First, conviction—a realizing sense of one's lost condition, of one's danger of hell. Second, a struggle by works and exercises to propitiate God and win His favour. Third, a sense of resignation to God's will, a willingness "to lie at God's feet and wait His time." This was sometimes expressed as a willingness to be damned for the glory of God. Fourth, to those who are of the elect, there comes a sense of peace and joy, of assurance, such as is expressed in Wesley's hymn

My God is reconciled  
His pardoning voice I hear,  
He owns me for His child  
I can no longer fear.  
With confidence I now draw nigh  
And Father, Abba, Father, cry.

We can illustrate the process by a document, later than the revival, but revealing the same state of mind, that is among Rev. John Cleaveland's papers in the Essex Institute.

"THE RELATION OF EUNICE ANDREWS.

After God had first begun to pour out his Spirit in this our Day and I came to hear the enlivened Ministers preach, I was put under some serious consideration about my soul, and was convinced in some measure of my need of a Saviour to save me from Hell and Damnation; and for two years before I was married, I was under considerable concern and at Length thought I received comfort, but have been con-

vinced since that it was only counterfeit; for ye comfort yt I then received did not humble me, as I find what I have received since does, even the least degree of it, and after this at Times I was under considerable concern and it would wear off again 'till the time of my first Lying in; and then I was in my own apprehension brought to the very brink of eternity; and that night I received comfort. I thought, I should be in eternity before morning and expected to go to Hell which gave me a great since of my miserable and Lost State and condition and I had a great since, not only of my actual sins but also of ye sins of my nature, I saw the opposition of my Heart to God—and saw I could not help myself—I saw I stood in need of mercy and was made to cry to God for mercy and Tho't if I had an Interest in Christ I should not be afraid to die but I could not see that there was any mercy for me; then Christ was manifested very plainly to my soul as a Saviour to save me from my sins and as an Interceding with God for me—he appeared also very Lovely to my soul which drew my soul out to him and filled me with comfort and made me willing to live or die and made me exceeding desirous that all and especially such as were around me might have an Interest in Christ and feel yt joy & comfort that I then felt, and then I seemed to be astonished at my living so long in a course of sinning against so many calls from God, and was astonished at the long suffering of God towards me; and I then found my Heart to hate sins and indeed was so turned against sin I thought I would never sin any more; but I have found it true otherwise to my Grief; and all the Time of my sickness I seemed to be very comfortable and sometimes I had so much comfort that I could not sleep; but after I got well again, (although at times I enjoyed some comfort) yet I got into the world and worldly cares carried my Mind off too much from the main Thing: and when the elders of this Church were at our House, one of them asked me what my experiences were when I was sick. I felt a disposition to putt it off being very low and Dull and therefore told them I feared it was only a sick-bed Repentance but my heart soon struck me for saying so, and afterwards what they said to me I trust was in some measure blessed to me. It putt me to more strict search and examination and calling to mind that it was about two years then from the time of my sickness when I mett with that experience and to con-



sider that God had been waiting on me two years to see if I bear Fruit; but I seemed to have a great sinse of my Unfruitfulness and Unfaithfulness to God; I was made sensible that ye Lord appeared for me in ye time of my sickness; but to think of my barrenness filled me with shame before God; and a little while after this I heard a sermon on these words, yt their hearts being knit together in Love, wherein it was shewed that all Believers did find their Hearts knit to those that appeared to have the Image of God on them which I then and since do find to ye children of God here and although for some Time before I had a Desire to join with this Church, yet I could not see my way clear as I have since but I am not now without some staggerings for I find myself to be very weak; and after I related my Experiences to the Elders in order to join with the Church I was seized with fear lest I had said more than I had really experienced, but then I was brought to see again I had not one half so much as I ought to have done. I hope this Church will pray for me and my Desire is with your Consent to be taken under your watch and to be admitted as a member of your communion; I have no more at present but to wish Grace, etc. to be multiplied, etc.

Eunice Andrews.

The church being stayed after Divine Service, Sabb. August 26, 1756, the above Relation was read to them and after considering ye same they voted That they were so far satisfied as yt she shall stand propounded which accordingly she does pr John Cleaveland, Pastor.

Sept. 16, 1756. Eunice Andrews was admitted unto ye Church and signed ye Articles and Covenant. Attest. John Cleaveland, Pastor."

This document needs no comment. Its sincerity, the struggle to be honest, the terror and pain it so simply lays bare, grip our hearts. Eunice is not always sure what her experience was but she knows what it should be. She thinks that a genuine experience of conversion would manifest the stages outlined in Edwards' treatise. The theory he sets forth determined emotional religious experience for the Evangelical churches.

It was in a mental and moral atmosphere such as this relation reveals that Jonathan Edwards began his work. The people he served were past the pioneer stage of liv-

ing. They were people of intelligence and for their day of more than the average information. Edwards was a man of remarkable intellectual and moral power. He was terribly convinced of the truth of what he was preaching, the reality of hell, the eternal doom of the unconverted, and the necessity of assurance to salvation. He was a man of intense but controlled emotion and of vivid imagination. He preached to people who had absorbed his belief in the very air they breathed. It is not to be wondered at that emotion burst out uncontrollably and that it spread like a fire throughout the colonies. The classic expression of Edwards' faith is the sermon which he preached at Enfield on July 8th, 1741, from the text in Deut. 32:35, "Their foot shall slide in due time." The title of the sermon was "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God." I do not need to repeat here the ten headings under which Edwards arranged this vivid picture of helpless humanity slipping to eternal torment, to "the kind of hell an infinite God would arrange who was infinitely enraged against a human being who had infinitely sinned in rejecting God's infinite love." Dr. Watts, the hymnologist of England, read the sermon and in a letter to Prince of Boston says: "I think Mr. Edwards' sermon on the Danger of the Unconverted is one of the most terrible representations I ever read." It is an index of the state of mind of the time that Watts' letter is quoted as a recommendation in an advertisement of the published sermon. Such sermons played the same part in the reading of the day as tales of mystery and murder do in our own.

The movement spread with great rapidity after 1740, due not only to the influence of Mr. Edwards, but to the visits and inspiration of Whitefield and to the rise of a whole group of itinerant evangelists. Ministers left their parishes and following the example of Whitefield and of Wesley went on long tours, everywhere meeting with the same response. "Men of no learning and of small capacity took up the work of exhorters; babes in age as well as in understanding; chiefly young persons, sometimes lads or boys, women and girls, even negroes." In spite



of the conviction that man of himself could do nothing, and that assurance could come only by the free gift of God, people were urged to press into the Kingdom.

You can and you can't,  
 You shall and you shan't  
 You will and you won't,  
 You'll be damned, if you don't.<sup>4</sup>

This is the way in which an enemy of the movement described what has come to be known as the Edwardean paradox.

Under the preaching of such doctrines, there were startling physical manifestations. One of the ministers says, "The bodies of some of the awakened are seized with trembling, fainting, histerisms, in some few women, and with convulsive motions in some others, arising from that apprehension and fear of the wrath of God they are convinced they are under and liable to because of their sins. They have a quick apprehension of the greatness and dreadfulness of this wrath before they are affected."<sup>5</sup> A minister named Parks, pastor of the church at Westerley, R. I., describes the preaching of the Rev. James Davenport at Stonington and says: "There was an outcry all over, caused by a deep conviction of sin." The Rev. Joseph Park preached to an Indian congregation. "I attempted," he said, "to preach from second Corinthians 6:2, but was unable to continue my discourse by reason of the outcry." Tennent, one of the most enthusiastic of the evangelists, writes in a letter to Whitefield of his own experience in a letter dated from New York, April 25, 1741. "The shock was rather more general at Charlestown. Multitudes were awakened and several received great consolation, especially among the young people, children and negroes. At Cambridge, in the college and town, the shaking among the dry bones was general and several of the students received consolation. . . . There were also several awakened in Portsmouth, in Greenland, in Ipswick Hamlet, Marble Head, Chelsea, Malden, New Town, Rosebury, Plimouth, etc. (Note

<sup>4</sup> Charles G. Finney, "The Tradition of the Elders," p. 557.

<sup>5</sup> J. Robe in "The Christian History" for 1743, p. 6.

that there is no mention of Salem). . . . In and about Mr. Davenport's place there is a great commotion. Multitudes are under soul concern and I hear that he is very warm. From Horse Neck to York beyond Boston there is in most places a greater or less degree of soul concern."

It is not much wonder that, with manifestations such as these, the movement aroused questioning in the minds of many people. The ministers seem to have resented the visits to their parishes of itinerant evangelists, who came uninvited and seriously disrupted church after church they visited. I can find nowhere except in Whitefield's Journals and in brief notices of his visits any account of the movement in Salem, and I am inclined to attribute this to the probable attitude of the ministers of the day. Many ministers did not like Mr. Whitefield or his methods and were suspicious of the whole movement. Dr. Chauncey, minister of The First Church in Boston, and President of Harvard College, published in 1743 his criticism of the whole movement called "Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England." The errors of the revivalists, according to Chauncey, are first an appeal to the emotions. He was particularly disgusted with the behavior of Mr. Davenport. He tells how on one occasion during his preaching Davenport "stripped off his upper garments, jumped up into the seats and leaped up and down some times and clapped his hands together and cried out in these words, 'The fight goes on; the devil goes down, the devil goes down' and then betook himself to stamping and screaming most dreadfully and what is it more than might be expected to see people so affrighted as to fall into shrieks and fits at such methods as these."<sup>6</sup> Davenport was brought before the General Assembly in Connecticut on the following charge: "That he endeavored by unwarrantable means to terrify and affect his hearers. 1st. By pretending some extraordinary discovery and assurance of the very near approach of the end of the world. 2nd. By the indecent and affected imitation of the agony and passion of our Blessed Saviour, and also by voice and gesture of the

<sup>6</sup> Hayes, "American Journal of Psychology," Vol. 13, p. 561.



surprise, horror, and amazement of persons supposed to be sentenced to eternal misery. *3rd.* By a too peremptory and unconditional denouncing damnation against such of his auditory as he looked upon as opposers, vehemently crying out that he saw hell's flames flashing in their faces and that they were "Now! Now! Now! dropping down to Hell."<sup>7</sup>

The effect of his preaching was what one might expect. Often the distress of his hearers, "their trembling, fainting and falling down grew tempestuous and dreadful until most of his hearers were affected." Those seized with such manifestations were brought together often in such meetings to the front of the church, while the preachers, in the words of an observer, "stamp, smite and cry out loudly and in a terrible manner and language while the poor creatures screech, faint and cry bitterly." "Sometimes," Chauncey says, describing Davenport, "he put a mighty emphasis upon rather unmeaning words and delivered a sentence of no importance with a mighty energy." The effect was as great as if the most awful truth was brought to view.<sup>8</sup>

Chauncey's second charge was that of censoriousness. He blames Whitefield for beginning this, but it spread with great rapidity. Ministers or other persons who did not favor the movement and support it were unsparingly condemned. Dr. Chauncey collects out of one sermon by Tennent, "notwithstanding his character by Mr. Whitefield as a mighty charitable man," a list of the slanderous names freely bestowed upon the body of the clergy of this generation. "Hirelings; Caterpillars; Pharisees: Men that have the Craft of Foxes and the Cruelty of Wolves; Plaistered Hypocrites; Varlets; The Seed of the Serpent; Foolish Builders whom the Devil Drives into the Ministry; Dry Nurses; Dead Dogs that cannot Bark; Blind Men; Dead Men; Men possessed with the Devil; Rebels and Enemies to God; Guides that are Stone Blind and Stone Dead; Children of Satan that like their father may do good to Men's Souls by Chance Medley; Daubers with

<sup>7</sup> Hayes, "American Journal of Psychology," Vol. 13, p. 561f.

<sup>8</sup> Hayes, "American Journal of Psychology," Vol. 13, p. 564.

Untempered Mortar; moral Negroes; Salt without savor that stink in the nostrils of God and Man; Judases whose chief desire is to Finger the Penny and Carry the Bag"; etc., etc., etc. Davenport was accused in Boston of such censoriousness and one of his prayers delivered on Copp's Hill was quoted in Court: "O, Lord, I will not mince the matter any longer with Thee. Thou knowest that I know that most of the ministers of Boston and of the country are unconverted and are leading their people blindfold to Hell." He was not at all the only person so censorious. In 1744 Whitefield was refused access to Harvard College, and a resolution of the faculty described him as an "uncharitable, censorious and slanderous man."

Chauncey also charges the leaders of the movement with a claim of immediate inspiration. Verses of scripture, dreams and visions, unusual imaginations were taken as messages from God. Davenport on one occasion attempted to cure a distracted and dumb woman. He went solemnly to her house in procession and prayed over her, finally announcing a day on which she would recover. It happened that she died on that very day, but Davenport claimed that she was delivered by being received to heaven. One itinerant evangelist named Barber came to the town of Oldman, Connecticut, and settled down there in idleness "until he was grown very fat and ragged," alleging that he must stay as long as the cloud abode upon the tabernacle.

Such surrender to delusion was extremely dangerous. In the town of Northampton for a time there was an epidemic of suicide. One man had cut his throat in a fit of melancholia and others kept hearing voices which would say, "Now is a good time to cut your throat. Do it now." And other expressions of a like sort. Most had sense enough to realize that if these voices were supernatural, they were bringing messages from the devil, but a number seem to have taken them in another way. Edwards set himself firmly against such illusions and tried, as Paul did under similar circumstances, to draw attention to the fact that Christian practice, not extravagant,



emotional experience, is the real test of friendship with God.

Chauncey's next objection was to the itinerant preaching. The lay exhorters became a great nuisance. At Yale there was in the early forties a state of continual disturbance. The students started out in evangelistic bands touring the country. They were "greatly spirited to save souls, but wanting furniture." They and other itinerants always turned to abuse of the ministers who did not welcome them and many churches were seriously disrupted as a result.

I have already called attention to the silence of contemporary records with regard to the movement in Salem. There is no doubt of the spread of the contagion to this community, but it was certainly not favored by the ministers who were settled here during that period. A meeting was proposed in Boston in the year 1744 or 45 of ministers who favored it and those unable to attend are asked to report by letter their opinions. The papers were collected and published under the name of "The Christian History" by Thomas Prince. None of the Salem ministers responded.

Whitefield, on his return from a trip along the North Shore, in the early part of October, 1740, preached three times on the common with considerable effect.<sup>9</sup> We have already noticed that Rev. Peter Clark of Salem Village was on a former occasion greatly impressed. Mr. Clark was one of the ablest ministers of his day in this vicinity, a Duddleian lecturer at Harvard in 1763. The Rev. John Cleaveland of Chebacco was an enthusiastic supporter. He was in 1758 chaplain of Col. Bagley's regiment in Abercrombie's Expedition. He was a man on the whole of excellent judgment and independent mind. The ministers in Ipswich were also friendly to the movement. We cannot doubt but that the same manifestations that accompanied the revival elsewhere were familiar to our ancestors here, and that many of them were swept along on the full tide of this emotional movement. I cannot, however, find that it produced any permanent effects and

<sup>9</sup> Boston News Letter, 1740, Nos. 1905, 1908.

judging by the silence of the local ministers I infer that it did not have their official approval.

By 1750 the movement had waned. In Northampton the reaction set in in 1744. The church turned violently against Edwards and finally drove him from the pulpit. From 1744 to 1750 there were no applications for membership. The same reaction set in throughout the entire country. Davenport publicly apologized for his behavior and particularly for his censoriousness. So far as the churches were concerned, there was a period of religious apathy. This was due in part to the fact that the colonies were absorbed in the struggle with France and with England. There is, however, no doubt but that the natural reaction from the emotional debauch of the great awakening also played its part.

In attempting to estimate the movement as a whole, we must not lose sight of the fact that there were many genuine reformations of life. One interesting account is contained in a letter "from G. D. to W. N. at Biddeford," dated Boston, November 22, 1740, and quoted from the "Glasgow Weekly History" in the Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, Vol. 53, Page 200. It is the story of a gentleman who hated Whitefield, but one day in his own house thought he heard him preaching. He followed the sound and came upon one of his negro slaves, who for his own edification was imitating one of Mr. Whitefield's sermons. The man listened with great amusement and some time later when he was entertaining a few friends at dinner and the pipes and wine were brought, he had the negro come in and repeat the performance. The negro gave an excellent imitation of Mr. Whitefield, finally coming to the exhortation, "I am now come to my exhortation and to you my master after the flesh. But know I have a master, even Jesus Christ my Saviour, who has said that a man cannot serve two masters. Therefore, I claim Jesus Christ to be my right master and all that come to him, he will receive. You know master you have been given to cursing, swearing, and blaspheming God's holy name, you have been given to be a drunkard, a whoremonger, covetous, a liar, a



cheat, but know that God has pronounced a woe against all such and has said that such shall never enter the Kingdom of God. Except you shall repent, you shall likewise perish." "The negro spoke with such authority," the account continues, "that struck the gentlemen to heart. They laid down their pipes, never drank a glass of wine, but departed every man to his own house and are now pious sober men, but before were wicked persons."

I suspect that this account is not strictly historical but many such tales were told and were believed partly because such reformations did take place. There is no doubt about the fact that many men under the preaching of earnest persons like Edwards, even under deluded charlatans, like Davenport, had their lives organized about a new center. I think that most of us would believe, however, that these reformations were purchased at too great a cost in emotional stability and in the standing of religion among men of intelligence and sanity. The clergy of New England never regained the dominant position they held before the movement began.

We may well ask why the movement made so little impression in Salem. The mass of the people here were as much affected by Whitefield's preaching as were those in other places, but the leaders of the community stood aloof. Their aloofness, no matter how they may have explained it, was probably due in part to the vivid memory of the witchcraft delusion and its horrible results. Men still in active life during the decade from 1740 to 1750 would remember Judge Sewall's recantation and apology and the shame that attended the recovery from the madness of those terrible days. The community had experienced a purgation of those emotions on which the fear of the supernatural rests. This is not the whole explanation. Salem men were beginning in those days the sea ventures which were to have so glorious a future. They were not helplessly exposed to destructive forces beyond their control. They had achieved the emotional stability which comes from successful activity and a hopeful future.

## JONATHAN HARADEN

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BY SAMUEL H. BATCHELDER

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The Haradens came originally from England and first settled in Ipswich. In 1657 Edward Haraden, from whom Jonathan doubtless descended, bought of Robert Dutch a house, barn, and all his land, in Gloucester. This property was in Planter's Neck where Dutch had a fishing stage. Edward added to his possessions at this place by subsequent purchases and appears to have been the first permanent settler in that section which is now known as Squam Point. Jonathan Haraden was born in Gloucester November 11, 1744. His parents were Joseph and Joanna (Emerson) Haraden. It is not wholly clear, but it seems likely that Joseph was a son of Benjamin who was born at Gloucester in 1671 and died there on February 3, 1725. Benjamin, in turn, was the youngest of the eight children of the Edward who originally removed from Ipswich and settled in Annisquam. Edward, the eldest son of the original Edward and born probably before his father moved to Gloucester, often appears as an officer in the militia and is credited with being the father of eighteen children by two marriages. John, another son of the original Edward followed the sea and in 1709 was in the service of the Colony as master of one of the sloops fitted out to attempt to take a vessel supposed to be a French privateer forced by a storm to anchor off Nahant. In 1711, he was pilot of the ship *Montague*, in the disastrous expedition against Canada; and, for his expenses and wages, received an allowance from the General Court in 1714. Another Haraden, Andrew, perhaps a son of John, was a fisherman, sailing from Annisquam. An incident in the life of Andrew well illustrates the kind of blood which flowed in the Haraden veins.

The sloop (*Squirrel*), newly built, commanded by Captain Andrew Haraden sailed out of Annisquam Harbor on the morning of April 14, 1724, bound eastward on a fishing voyage. As the sloop made outward into



the bay, two or three sails were in sight, among them a sloop, off to the eastward, following a course similar to the *Squirrel* but a point or two more to the north; so that early in the afternoon when the vessels were both off the Isles of Shoals the stranger was only a gunshot distant.

Haraden was looking her over when suddenly a puff of smoke broke out of a swivel on her rail and the ball struck the water less than one hundred feet in front of the *Squirrel's* bow. The sloop ran up a black flag and presently the Annisquam fisherman was headed into the wind and Haraden was getting into a boat in answer to a command that came across the water from the pirate. When he reached her deck, Haraden found that the pirate was commanded by Captain John Phillips, who was well known in consequence of the captures he had made among the fishing fleets the year before.

When Phillips found that he had taken a newly-built vessel with lines that suggested speed he decided to take her over and the next day the guns, ammunition, and stores were transferred to the *Squirrel* and the fishermen were ordered aboard the other sloop and left to shift for themselves, but Haraden was forcibly detained. He soon found that about one-half of the men with Phillips had been forced like himself and were only waiting for a chance to escape. It developed that various plans had already been cautiously discussed by several of the captured men, and now that another bold man was aboard, and as there was an extra broadaxe and adze about the deck, the time seemed ripe to rise and capture the vessel. John Filmore, a fisherman who had been captured by Phillips while off the Newfoundland coast the previous fall, was active in the proposed mutiny. Filmore came from the Town of Wenham and in November, 1724, after an acquittal of piracy by the Admiralty Court in Boston, married Mary Spiller of Ipswich, and his son Nathaniel became grandfather of Millard Filmore, President of the United States.

Some of the men on the *Squirrel* were in favor of surprising the pirates at night, but after some debate it

was finally agreed to make the attack by daylight as less likely to end in confusion or mistake. The plan agreed upon called for a united assault at noon on April 17 while the carpenter's tools, etc. lay about the deck. When the time arrived, one of the men, Cheeseman, brought out his brandy bottle and took a dram with the rest, drinking to the boatswain and the sailing master and "to their next merry meeting." He then took a turn about the deck with Nutt, the pirate sailing master, asking him what he thought of the weather and the like. Meanwhile, Filmore took up a broadaxe and twirling it around on its point as though at play, winked at Cheeseman to let him know if all was ready. He at once seized Nutt by the collar and putting his other hand between his legs and holding him hard, tossed him over the side of the vessel. By this time the boatswain was dead, for as soon as Filmore saw the sailing master going over the rail, he raised his broadaxe and gave the boatswain a slash that divided his head clear to his neck. Nutt's cry and the noise of the scuffle brought the Captain on deck to be met by a blow from a mallet in the hands of Cheeseman which broke his jawbone. Haraden then made for the Captain with a carpenter's adze, smashing him over the head and thus ending his piratical career for all time. The remaining pirates surrendered when they found out what had happened and were secured firmly with ropes below.

Again Haraden took command of the *Squirrel* and altered her course from Newfoundland to Annisquam which was reached on April 24. As they came into the harbor, tradition has it that the head of Phillips was hanging at the sloop's masthead when she arrived at Annisquam.

The day after the return of the *Squirrel*, Captain Haraden went over to Gloucester and made proper oath to the particulars of the capture and recapture of the sloop and on May 3 the entire company arrived in Boston and the accused pirates were placed in jail to await a speedy trial. For this service Captain Haraden was given a suitable bounty by the General Court.



Such was the background of Jonathan Haraden. Very little is known of his early life but as a boy he was employed by Joseph Cabot of Salem and he lived in Salem thereafter until his death. He followed the sea from early youth and had risen to a command in the merchant service when the Revolution began.

So far as a regular navy was concerned the colonies were wholly unprepared for the conflict, but the Americans of the eighteenth century were notably a maritime people, and no better sailors were to be found. A considerable proportion of the colonists, therefore, were at home upon the sea, and more than this, they were to some extent practiced in maritime warfare. England, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was at war with various foreign nations a great part of the time and almost from the beginning of the colonial period American privateers and letters of marque scoured the ocean in search of French or Spanish prizes. Even in times of peace the prevalence of piracy necessitated vigilance, and nearly every merchantman was armed and prepared for resistance.

As early as November 1, 1775 the Massachusetts legislature passed an act empowering the Council to commission with letters of marque and reprisal any person or persons within the colony, to fit out and equip at their own expense, for the defence of America, any vessel, and general authority to take all vessels of the enemy. The first private-armed vessels commissioned under the authority of the State were privateers as distinguished from letters of marque. That is, they were empowered and used to cruise against the enemies of America and not merely merchant vessels armed to resist aggression and to take prizes. A privateer was in most respects, except ownership, a close imitation of our state and national vessels, and its officers received the same titles as in the regular service. A letter of marque was a merchant vessel cleared for some port with a cargo, though she might sail in ballast, but armed to resist aggression and authorized to take any of the enemy's vessels that came in her way. The officers received the same titles as were used

in the merchant service. With the letter of marque the capture of prizes was incidental; with the privateer, it was the business of the cruise. The letter of marque was usually lighter armed and carried a much smaller crew than a privateer of the same tonnage.

In February, 1776 the General Court authorized the construction of ten state naval vessels, the number being shortly afterwards reduced to five. April 20, it was resolved that the sloop building at Salisbury be called the *Tyrannicide*. This vessel was changed into a brigantine a few months later. The *Tyrannicide*, Captain John Fisk, carrying fourteen guns and seventy-five men was the first of the new State vessels to put to sea. It was on this vessel that Jonathan Haraden saw his first sea service in the Revolution, serving as Lieutenant. She sailed July 8, 1776 and four days later captured a prize, the armed schooner *Despatch* from Halifax, bound to New York. The prize struck her colors after an engagement of one and one-half hours. Captain Fisk reported that he found on board eight carriage guns and twelve swivel guns, twenty small arms, sixteen pistols, twenty cutlasses, some cartridges, boxes and belts for bayonets, nine half-barrels powder, all the accoutrement for said cannon. The Commander and one man were killed, and seven others wounded. The crew consisted of thirty men and one boy. Fisk lost one man killed, ten wounded and his vessel was pretty well shattered. He sailed again and during the month of August took four prizes, one of which was recaptured by a British frigate which chased and nearly caught the *Tyrannicide*. It was after this misadventure that the rig of the vessel was changed on Captain Fisk's advice.

In 1777 Haraden was given command of the brigantine *Tyrannicide*. On March 24 of that year under orders issued by the Massachusetts Board of War the *Tyrannicide* and the *Massachusetts*, Captain John Fisk sailed together in a cruise to the coast of Ireland, England, and France. On April 2 these two vessels took the ship *Chaulkly* and April 8, the *Tyrannicide* alone took the bark *Lonsdale* after a three-hour engagement.



Two weeks later they fell in with a fleet of nine sail, one of sixty and one of fourteen guns, British Ships of War, with seven transports from Plymouth for New York. Fisk says, "Being a fresh gale we could not bear down on them; however, finding one brig to lay astern, we took the liberty to take her under convoy. She had on board sixty-three troops, Hessian Chasseurs, with their accoutrements complete." On May 21, the *Massachusetts* arrived at Nantes and Fisk reported that the *Tyrannicide* was not with him. Both his and Haraden's vessel had encountered a superior English force and both bore away before the wind. Fisk lost sight of the *Tyrannicide* but saw the flashes of guns and feared that Haraden had been taken because he had not heard nor seen anything of him since. Later Fisk learned from a schooner that Haraden had arrived safely at Bilboa, having been obliged to throw overboard guns and stores to escape the British ship. The *Tyrannicide* returned safely to Boston, arriving there August 30. In the fall of the same year Haraden, with the same command, cruised apparently in the waters about Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, committing great depredations among the fishermen. An English admiral reported that the privateers cruising in that region were so greatly superior in number and size to the squadron at his command that the bank fishery was at a standstill. Late in the year 1777, Haraden still with the *Tyrannicide*, and accompanied by the brig *Hazard*, sailed on a cruise in the West Indies. Early in the voyage three prizes were taken but after arriving on their cruising ground, they had little success.

Just what Haraden was doing the following year is not wholly clear. If, as seems likely, he was the same Jonathan Haraden whose name appears in Col. Timothy Pickering's handwriting on a "List of Volunteers from Salem, for the Rhode Island Expedition Aug. 1778," then he certainly took part in that affair. That was an attempt to recover possession of the Island which was in the occupation of a body of British troops under command of Major General Sir Robert Pigott. An American army under Major General Sullivan was supposed to co-

operate with a French fleet for this purpose. Although the Americans greatly outnumbered the British, disasters to the French ships caused by gales and dissensions among themselves, made it necessary for the Americans to retreat from the position they had taken near Newport. Nearly one hundred prominent Salem men volunteered for this enterprise, marching from Salem to Newport. The American forces succeeded in retreating to the mainland without the loss of men or stores.

In 1779 Haraden had succeeded to the command of the sixteen-gun privateer *General Pickering* and cruised successfully the entire year, many of his prizes being armed vessels. In a letter to Timothy Pickering, dated Cape Henlopen, October 1, 1779 Haraden writes, "I left the Capes at Sundown on Tuesday last and at Sunrising on Wednesday Morning I discovered Two sail to the windward. The Winds being light I hove out two Draggs to keep my Ship from going ahead and made all the Sail I could, as though I was running from them. They both gave Chace and at 5 P. M. they got nigh enough to discover that I was a Cruising Vessel. They both hove about and haul'd their wind, I immediately hove about after them, they crowded all the Sail they could and Rowed at the same time. At sundown the Wind breezed up a little and as Night came on, I kept Sight of them with my Night Glass; at 8 P. M. they parted, one stood to the Northward & the other to the Southward. I kept in chace of the largest and at 9 P. M. She hove about, being to the windward; as she past me I hail'd her, but had no answer. Then I gave her a Broadside, but without any effect that I could perceive; then I tackt ship and gave her another Broadside and hail'd her. She answered from N. York. I Order'd her to haul down the Colours, which they Obey'd instantly; very peaceable people like the *Hope*, though they Had 14, 6 & 4 pounders and 38 Men. She proves to be the *Royal George*, Cutter, a Letter of Marque out of New York last Tuesday Morning bound to the West Indies and was in Company with a Sloop of 8 Carriage Guns from the



same place, she being Clean & a Fast Sailor got off clear, while I was in Chace of the Cutter."

In October, off Sandy Hook, the *Pickering* engaged three letters of marque at once — a fourteen-gun ship, a ten-gun brig, and an eight-gun sloop. After an action of an hour and a half she captured all three and took them into port.

In the spring of 1780 Haraden again sailed from Salem still in command of the *General Pickering* with a cargo of sugar for Bilboa. At that time this port was a famous rendezvous for privateers, not only of the United States but for those of England and France. It was customary for our ships to sail for this place with a cargo of sugar, and capture a prize or two on the passage over if possible. After disposing of the sugar the privateers went on a general cruise after the enemy's merchantmen, filling their empty holds with such goods as they could readily remove from a prize and returning to the United States, where the cargoes were sold to the best advantage.

On this passage over Haraden had an unusually exciting time, even for him. On May 29 he was attacked by a British cutter, but although his antagonist carried six more guns than he did, Haraden, after a desperate fight of two hours, succeeded in beating the enemy off. As the *General Pickering* entered the Bay of Biscay, she fell in with the English privateer schooner *Golden Eagle*, carrying twenty-two guns and sixty men, the Americans mounting only sixteen cannon. Having come upon the Englishman at night and unobserved, and having formed a fairly accurate idea of her force, Haraden boldly ran alongside and called on the stranger to surrender, declaring at the same time that his craft was an American frigate of the largest class and that he would blow the British privateer out of the water if she did not surrender.

This was no ill-considered threat on the part of the *General Pickering's* commander, for less than a year before Captain John Paul Jones, in the *Bonhomme Richard* had sunk the *Serapis*, one of the finest frigates in the British navy, within pistol shot of the English coast, and such was the effect of that astounding achieve-

ment on the mind of the British public that the most extravagant stories as to the number and force of Yankee warships, and as to their whereabouts and daring, found ready credence. So when Haraden announced himself as having an "American frigate of the largest class" he well knew, from what he had learned of the consternation produced in Great Britain by the unparalleled victories of the American navy, that his confused enemy would be more than likely to believe it. Such proved to be the case, for the Englishmen were taken so completely by surprise that they were unable to make any defence, and promptly struck their flag. When the British skipper came aboard the *General Pickering* he expressed great humiliation at having given in to such an inferior force. But it was too late to repent for Second Officer John Carnes had been sent aboard the *Golden Eagle* with a prize crew, and soon had the Stars and Stripes waving at her gaft.

It was only a few days after this that the *General Pickering* gave battle to the *Achilles*. Early in the morning of June 3, when the American privateer was approaching Bilboa, a large sail was observed working out of that port. Inquiring of his prisoner, the master of the captured schooner, Haraden was told that the stranger was the *Achilles*, a privateer of London mounting forty-two guns and carrying one hundred and forty men. Thinking that this might be merely a trick on the part of the commander of the *Golden Eagle* to induce the American to run away from the sail, or to surrender if he once found himself under the *Achilles'* guns, Haraden coolly replied, "I shan't run from her," and boldly held on his course. The light wind prevented the vessels from coming together that day, but the Americans saw enough of the stranger to realize that they were in the presence of a powerful foe. Before sunset the *Achilles* — for such she proved to be — had recaptured the *General Pickering's* prize, and placing a crew aboard slowly beat to a favorable position for attacking the American. Night coming on, the British deferred their attack until daylight so as to make sure of the Yankee so nearly within



their grasp. The presence of the powerful *Achilles* did not in the least disturb Haraden, for it is recorded that he took a "sound night's sleep and recruited a boatswain and eight sailors from his prisoners in the morning, when they went to work on shore."

By this time the news had spread that an American and British warship, in full view of the land, were about to fight, and thousands of people flocked down to the water's edge and occupied all vantage points, eager to witness a naval battle. They were disappointed that day, but when day broke June 4th it found the ships ready for action, and the same multitude of Spaniards again assembled and impatiently waited to see the contest.

The British lost no time in beginning the attack and shortly after daylight they bore down on the Yankee with confident hurrahs. But Haraden had made his preparation for defence with his usual skill. Availing himself of the conformation of the land and some shoals which he knew to be in the vicinity, he placed his ship in such a position that the Englishman, in approaching, would be exposed to a raking fire from the *General Pickering's* entire broadside. It so happened that the wind gradually died out, just as the British were getting into effective range, so that they were exposed to a murderous raking fire from the American much longer than they had counted upon. Still the English commander had a vastly superior force, and as it would never do for a British warship to run away from an American of inferior strength, especially when thousands of Spaniards were watching every move, he bravely held on his course.

After enduring the destructive fire from the *General Pickering* for about two hours, without being able to gain his desired position, the British commander brought the head of his ship about and opened with his broadside guns. Several efforts were made to bring the ships into closer quarters, but conscious of the advantage his position gave him, and knowing that he had a brave foe with superior force to contend with, Haraden tenaciously maintained his tactics, and finally, after a battle of three hours, he compelled the *Achilles* to make sail to escape.

It is said that toward the close of the action Haraden, finding himself running short of ammunition, ordered his gunner to load with crowbars, which had been taken out of a prize. This "flight of crowbars" produced the utmost consternation in the English craft, and is believed to have precipitated his retreat. The *General Pickering* vainly endeavored to come up with her. Haraden offered a large reward to the gunner who carried away one of the Englishman's spars, but for once the man behind the gun was not equal to the emergency and the *Achilles* escaped. The Americans did succeed, however, in retaking their prize, which was carried safely into Bilboa. Aboard the *Golden Eagle* were found a British prize crew and the second officer of the *Achilles*.

So interested had the people on shore become in the battle that they took to boats and drew nearer and nearer to the contestants, until finally, toward the close of the action, the *General Pickering* found herself literally surrounded by a wildly enthusiastic crowd. This impromptu escort of boats accompanied the privateer and her prize to their anchorage in the harbor, and soon after they dropped anchor, it is stated that it was possible to have walked ashore over the craft of all kinds that swarmed about. Captain Haraden had occasion to go ashore shortly afterwards, and so great was the enthusiasm and admiration of the Spaniards over his heroic defence that they raised him bodily on their shoulders and bore him in triumph through the city.

The venerable Robert Cowan, who witnessed this battle, said, shortly before he died, "The *General Pickering*, in comparison with her antagonist, looked like a longboat by the side of a ship." Speaking of Haraden's conduct in the battle Cowan said, "He fought with a determination that seemed superhuman, and that, although in the most exposed positions, where the shot flew around him, he was all the while as calm and steady as amid a shower of snow flakes."

For this exploit, the owners of the *General Pickering* presented Haraden a silver tankard and pair of cans which are still preserved and treasured by his descendants.



In one of the last voyages in the *Pickering*, Haraden attacked a heavily armed "king's mail packet" bound to England from the West Indies. She was a foe to test Captain Haraden's mettle and he found her a tough antagonist. They fought "four glasses," as the log records it, after which Haraden found that he must haul out of the action and repair damages to rigging and hull. He discovered also, that he had used all the powder on board except one charge. It would have been a creditable conclusion of the matter if he had called it a drawn battle and gone on his way. It was in his mind, however, to try an immensely audacious plan which could succeed only by means of the most cold-blooded courage on his part. Ramming home his last charge of powder and double-shotting the gun, he again ranged alongside his plucky enemy who was terribly cut up, but still unconquered, and hailed her: "I will give you five minutes to haul down your colors. If they are not down at the end of that time, I will fire into and sink you, so help me God."

It was a test of mind, not of armament. The British commander was a brave man who had fought his ship like a hero. But the sight of this infernally indomitable figure on the quarterdeck of the shot-rent *Pickering*, the thought of being exposed to another broadside at pistol range, the aspect of the blood-stained, half-naked privateersmen grouped at their guns with matches lighted, was too much for him. Captain Haraden stood, watch in hand, calling off the minutes so that his voice could be heard aboard the packet. He had not said, "Four" when the British colors fluttered down from the yard and the packet was his.

When a boat from the *Pickering* went alongside the prize, the crew "found the blood running from her scuppers, while the deck appeared more like the floor of a slaughter house than the deck of a ship. On the quarterdeck, in an armchair, sat an old gentleman, the Governor of the island from which the packet came. During the whole action he had loaded and fired a heavy blunderbuss, and in the course of the battle had received a ball in his cheek, which, in consequence of the loss of teeth,

had passed out through the other cheek without giving mortal wound."

Toward the close of the war, he carried several prizes into St. Eustatia, and with his ship and prizes, shared the fate of the island, when it was taken in 1781 by the fleet of Admiral Rodney. One of the prizes thus taken was a Boston vessel, which had been captured by a British ship and recaptured by the *Pickering*. The owners of the vessel sued Captain Haraden for damages, for having carried the ship into St. Eustatia instead of sending her home or to some other port. He was compelled to pay a large amount; and as his owners, after the loss of their ship and prizes, were not ready to indemnify him, he commenced a suit for indemnity.

Such was the sympathy for Captain Haraden, that when the case came in, the courthouse was filled with spectators, and the streets of Salem were thronged. The verdict was in his favor, and when it was known, the people in the streets rent the air with their acclamations.

After the loss of the *General Pickering* Haraden took command of the letter of marque *Julius Caesar* mounting fourteen guns. It was on this vessel that he saw his last sea service during the Revolution. On June 5, 1782, while in command of this ship he fell in with an armed ship and brig. Of course there was a fight right off and for two hours neither side could gain a decisive advantage, when, as Captain Haraden quaintly remarked, "both parties separated, sufficiently amused." During the Revolution, it is said that Haraden took over one thousand cannon from the English.

It may be interesting to note one or two estimates of Captain Haraden. One commentator says, "Captain Haraden was in his person tall and comely; his countenance was placid and his manners and deportment remarkably mild. His discipline on board ship was excellent, especially in time of action. Yet in the common concerns of life he was easy almost to a fault. So great was the confidence he inspired, that if he but looked at a sail through his glass, and then told the helmsman to steer for her, the observation went round, 'If she is:



an enemy, she is ours.' His great characteristic was the most consummate self-possession on all occasions, and in midst of perils, in which if any man equalled, none ever excelled him. His officers and men insisted he was more calm and cool amid the din of battle than at any other time; and the more deadly the strife, the more imminent the peril — the more terrific the scene, the more perfect his self-command and serene intrepidity. In a word, he was a hero."

Charles W. Upham said of him, "He fought some of the most desperate actions, and achieved some of the most wonderful triumphs, which the ocean has ever witnessed. In private life he was amicable and upright. His temper was mild and his manners gentle; but on the quarter deck, and amid the thunders of battle, the great and commanding energies of his noble nature were gloriously displayed. . . . He was not only brave himself, but he made all around him brave also. So evident and certain was it that he knew no fear, that fear vanished from the breasts of all under his command. His consummate and extraordinary courage, by thus imparting itself to his whole crew, made him invincible against all odds, and gave him, as was justly observed by one who who understood his character and history 'a name of terror on the ocean.'"

And Ralph D. Paine — "The United States Navy, with its wealth of splendid tradition, has few more commanding figures than Captain Jonathan Haraden, the foremost fighting privateersman of the Revolution and one of the ablest men that fought in that war, afloat or ashore. His deeds are well nigh forgotten by his countrymen, yet he captured one thousand cannon in British ships and counted his prizes by the score."

The privateers had undoubtedly been of great value to the country from a military or naval point of view, but with a few notable exceptions their owners were on the verge of bankruptcy at the end of the Revolution. Captain Haraden among many others found himself not only in straitened circumstances but in failing health. He forsook the sea at the close of the war and passed

the last years of his life in the brick house on the southerly side of Essex Street where the First National Stores have recently erected a new building. During these latter years he owned and carried on a rope walk on Brown Street. He made the rigging for the mainmast of the Frigate *Essex* in 1799. It will be remembered that this ship was built by popular subscription in Salem, so that it was distinctly a Salem vessel from keel to truck. The rigging for the other two masts was made at two other rope walks in Salem. It is said that when the huge hemp cables were ready to be carried to the frigate, the workmen who had made them conveyed them to the shipyard on their shoulders, the procession led by a fife and drum.

Dr. Bentley records the death of Jonathan Haraden in these words:

"Nov. 23, 1803. Died in this town Captain Jonathan Haraden, aet. 60. He was one of our most intrepid Commanders in the Revolution. He was an accomplished gentleman, of cool temper, of generous courage, & a most successful Officer in all his engagements at Sea. No man had a higher reputation, or could have greater favour among all who were under him. After the war his health failed, & his circumstances were narrow, & he finally died after a very lingering sickness of Consumption. He owned the Rope walk in Brown street near the New Burying Ground. His second wife was a daughter of the Revd. James Diman of this town. His present wife was not of Salem. He has left two daughters, & a good name behind him. He was from Gloucester."





## DR. EDWARD AUGUSTUS HOLYOKE

BY RICHARD HALL WISWALL

The life of a man so venerated by his fellow citizens that he became almost a symbol of virtue should present no difficult subject to one whose task it is briefly to portray it. And if, in addition, that man had been continually active for eighty of the most interesting years in the history of Salem, the only problem would seem to be that of choosing what material to use and what to discard. Between the year 1749 when Dr. Holyoke first came to live in Salem and the year of his death in 1829 many of the great fortunes were made by the merchants of this city, the Revolution was fought and won, the United States of America was born and engaged Great Britain in another war, the people were thrilled by the privateers and the glorious actions of the ships of our new navy, and the country was shaken by the bitterness of political and religious factions. The life of almost any other man of that time comparable in renown to Dr. Holyoke would almost inevitably have been so colored by these stirring events of public moment that no account of him, however brief, could be separated from them. And yet so intent was Dr. Holyoke on concentrating all the energies of his mind and body upon that task to which he had devoted his life that an account of the political events of his time is not only unnecessary to an understanding of him, but is out of tune with the story of his career. Few men have known better how to mind their own business, and few have done their own business better than he.

No circumstance of personal isolation accounts for his detachment from the political events of his time. He was in constant contact with men of every degree, from the poorest laborer to the most honored merchant. The ministers were his friends, and the justices of the Supreme Judicial Court dined at his house. Almost literally he knew everyone in Salem, and many men of note in Cambridge and Boston. His natural thirst for information



must have been satisfied by the discussions and arguments of his many friends. But if he was stirred by the thrilling march of history during the last sixty years of his life, it influenced him not at all to deviate in the slightest degree from the particular furrow to which he had put his hand. Ready as he was to recognize a different genius in others, he knew his own and was not tempted to try unfamiliar tasks.

Dr. Holyoke lived to be almost 101 years old, and he practiced medicine in Salem for the last eighty years of his life. That is his history as people know it, and as he doubtless would have it himself. Other things are known of him, but every other fact of his life is subordinated to that extraordinary lifetime of skilled helpfulness. It can hardly be presumptuous to say that he would not himself set store by the honor in which he is held for his eminent contribution to the progress of literature and natural science in Salem, as compared with the affectionate veneration of his fellow citizens for his work as a beloved physician among them.

The vital facts about the subject of a narrative, the dates of birth and of death, are ordinarily a necessary record devoid of particular interest. In the case of Dr. Holyoke they are perhaps the most extraordinary fact to be told about him. To say that he was born on August 1, 1728 and died on March 31, 1829 recounts in itself a span of life so unusual as to excite some interest. But to speak of these dates in terms of historical events is far more surprising. When Dr. Holyoke was born it was but thirty-six years since the last of the Salem witches had been condemned and hanged on Gallows Hill — an event so strange to all our experience that it seems but a legend of antiquity. When Dr. Holyoke died, only nine years were to elapse before the trains of the Eastern Railroad began to arrive in Salem. And that remarkable physician's lifetime search for scientific accuracy and the betterment of life is but a reflection of the astonishing development of Salem from a superstitious village to a busy nineteenth-century town. Dr. Holyoke knew men who had seen the witches hanged, and he knew men who

helped to build the industries of the New England of today. He heard of Cotton Mather as a contemporary from his father; and he lived to read Channing's memorable sermon in Baltimore. What men have packed within their span of life, events of more significance!

Although it was in Salem that Dr. Holyoke began and completed his life's work, that city can claim to be neither the place of his birth nor the home of his forebears. His great-great-grandfather, Edward Holyoke, came of a respectable family in Warwickshire, and settled in Lynn in 1638. The son of that Edward, Elizur, moved to Springfield where he became one of the prominent inhabitants of that town. His son, of the same name, moved to Boston, where in 1689 was born Edward Holyoke, the doctor's father. The latter graduated from Harvard College at the age of 16 and eleven years later was settled as minister in Marblehead, thus returning the family temporarily to the county in which they had first settled. He stayed as minister in Marblehead for 21 years and it was there that he married as his second wife, Dr. Holyoke's mother, Margaret Appleton of Ipswich.

Edward Augustus Holyoke, the subject of this account, was born in Marblehead on August 1, 1728, the second of his parents' eight children and the eldest son.

On May 30, 1737, Reverend Edward Holyoke was chosen President of Harvard College to succeed President Wadsworth. Mr. Holyoke was an Orthodox Calvinist minister, as indeed was then a necessary qualification for the office to which he was elected in Cambridge. He had considerable distinction in astronomy and in mathematics and was an accomplished classical scholar. Harvard College at that time had about one hundred students who were instructed by the President himself assisted by four tutors. Mr. Holyoke was President of the College for 32 years and died at the age of 80 on June 1, 1769.

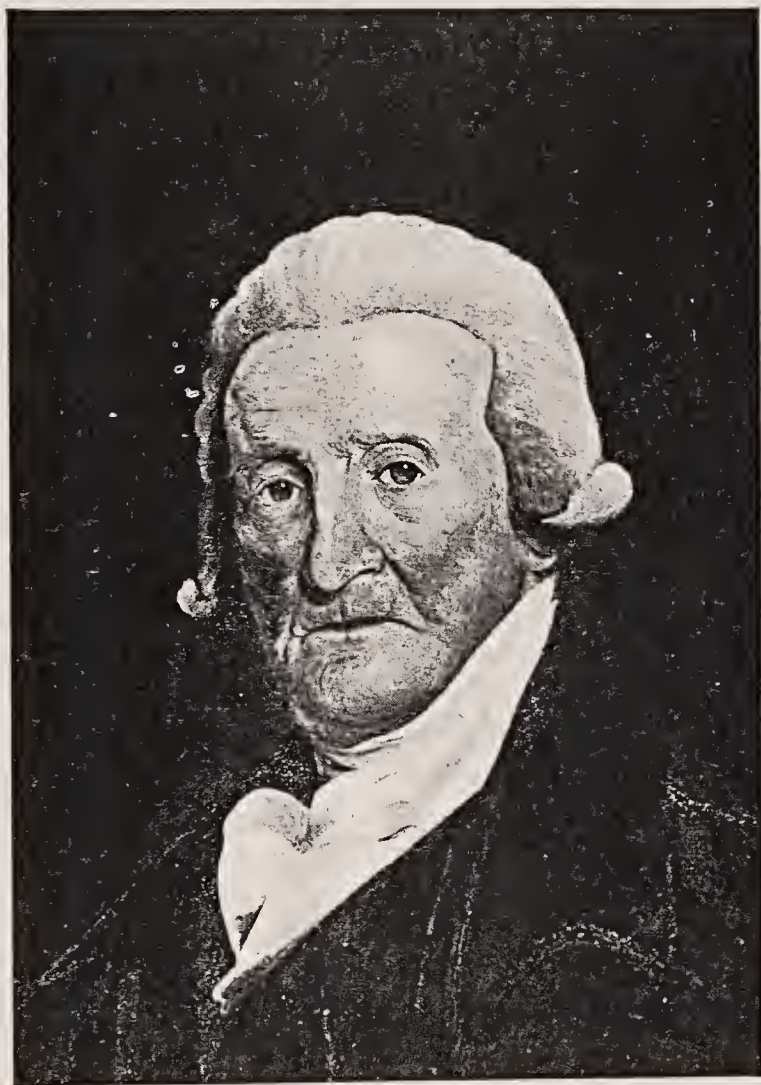
Edward Augustus Holyoke was nine years old when the family moved to Cambridge and established themselves in Wadsworth House, which had recently been built for the use of the President and which is still stand-



ing on Massachusetts Avenue close to Harvard Square. The business of moving to Cambridge was somewhat more of an undertaking then than it is today, and on the date of September 2, 1737 President Holyoke notes in his diary, "This day Finch sailed with my goods for Cambridge and arrived there on the 5th."

Not much is known of the early days of Dr. Holyoke. The family was a united one and the references to each other in the diaries of President Holyoke's family are evidence of the affection which they bore to one another. In his boyhood he was always referred to by his father and brother as Neddie, and in view of his extraordinary length of life and rugged endurance it is of some interest to note that when he was seven years old he was so exceedingly ill that his father omitted his daily tasks, a fact of some significance in those days of emotional restraint and spartan devotion to duty. Neddie recovered, however, and matriculated at Harvard College in 1742 when he was fourteen years old. Here he stayed during the regular course and was graduated in 1746. It was during this period of attendance at the College when he wrote his diary. This diary was contained in interleaved line-a-day almanacs and is perhaps the least interesting of the Holyoke diaries and of little significance in an account of his life, except to show that even then he had acquired the methodical habits and gift of careful observation which were so useful to him in his later life. It is for the most part merely an enumeration, without comment, of lectures, studies, deaths, trials and meteorological observations.

This last subject was one of continual and lifelong interest to him and even while he was at Harvard College no unusual temperature, no appearance of a comet, or display of northern lights escaped notation in his diary. Upon his graduation from Harvard, Neddie disappears from his father's diary and "my son Edward" takes his place. President Holyoke records that in August of 1746, the year of his graduation, Edward went to keep school in Lexington and the following year went to Roxbury again as a schoolmaster. For six months'



EDWARD AUGUSTUS HOLYOKE, M. D.

1728 - 1829

Centenarian physician of Salem. From the portrait painted in 1824 by his grand-daughter Mary Holyoke Ward, now in the possession of Miss Mary E. Nichols.





service at teaching school Edward received \$38.50 out of which he paid his board of 67 cents per week.

On August 22, 1747 President Holyoke records the beginning of his son's distinguished career as a physician, for on that day he went to Ipswich to live and study medicine with Col. Thomas Berry. Dr. Holyoke's instructor in the art of medicine was more familiarly known by his title as Colonel than by that of Doctor. The latter title was, in those days when anyone who cared to prescribe could practice the art of healing, of little dignity in itself, and although Col. Berry had a remarkably extensive practice and was the most eminent doctor in the vicinity of Ipswich, he was also in his later life Probate Judge, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas and Colonel of the Regiment. Dr. Holyoke's course of study was short. It probably consisted of helping Col. Berry compound his prescriptions, of riding about with him to see his patients and absorbing such knowledge as he could from observation and conversation with the Colonel. He spent two years in Ipswich and in June 1749 he came to Salem, where from that moment until his death eighty years later, he was to live and practice his profession without interruption. Notwithstanding the recent death of Dr. Cabot and the probable absence of trained and intelligent competition, Dr. Holyoke found the prospects so discouraging that he despaired of success. His father records in 1749, "my son went to live at Salem and found nothing." Even after two years' trial his practice was so meager that he had serious intentions of abandoning Salem for some more promising location. The memorial to Dr. Holyoke, published shortly after his death in 1829 by the Essex South District Medical Society, accounts for his persistence in persevering at Salem by the settled resolution of his character and the rugged health of his body. It was during these two years, however, that he had perhaps the most serious illness of his life, for his brother John records that in August of 1748, when the family were visiting Edward at Ipswich, the young physician was taken ill of a nervous fever which was serious enough to confine him to his house for some six weeks.



The devotion of his brother John to Edward and the family interest in his success is suggested by the entry in John's diary of November 29, 1748, "Neddie had a new great coat" followed by the entry two days later, "My great coat turned into a jacket."

The ultimate success of Dr. Holyoke, however doubtful it seemed to him at first, was certain from the start. He was well-connected, temperate, whole-heartedly interested in his profession and possessed of a remarkable degree of application to his work. His health apparently improved as he grew older, for during almost his entire life in Salem he was well and enduring, and of a calm and unruffled disposition. His intellectual attainments were above the average and his manner was affable but of sufficient dignity to inspire the confidence of his patients. The standards of medical training and education at that time were very low and the success of a practitioner depended far less than today upon training and education and far more upon the attainments and natural ability of the individual. These Dr. Holyoke possessed to an exceptional degree and it could be only a matter of time before the citizens of Salem would come to prefer the ministrations of such a man to the care of midwives and ill-trained practitioners to whom the art of healing was but incidental to more profitable enterprises. When it is recalled that Dr. Holyoke's first visits were charged at the rate of 8 pence each, it is perhaps surprising that he was able to devote himself exclusively to the practice of his profession and to resist the lure of greater profit from commercial adventure which tempted almost all others with whom he was in contact at that time.

From the beginning of his life in Salem, Dr. Holyoke must have associated on terms of intimacy with the leading citizens of the town for in 1755 he married Judith, the daughter of Col. Benjamin Pickman, one of the richest and most influential men of that time in Salem. The tragedies of Dr. Holyoke's family life, however, began early, for his infant daughter survived her mother by only two weeks.

On November 22, 1759, he married his second wife

Mary, the daughter of Nathaniel Vial, a merchant of Boston. This event necessitated one of Dr. Holyoke's very infrequent absences from Salem for, according to the custom of the times, social convention required that newly-married couples spend a considerable time at the bride's home receiving the visits and good wishes of their friends. This was recorded by the young physician as "very tedious and irksome" and he was doubtless glad when he could take his wife back after nearly two weeks in Boston and install her in his house at Salem. The house to which he took her was apparently the same house to which he had first gone when he came to Salem, next to the corner of Essex and Union Streets, where he boarded with Madame Turner. Later, in 1763, he purchased the Capt. Bowditch house which stood next east of the site of the present Naumkeag Block, and there he lived with his family until he died. The second Mrs. Holyoke also predeceased her husband by many years, but lived to bear him twelve children and to be his most devoted companion for more than forty years of his professional life in Salem. The child-bearing of Mrs. Holyoke was almost a continued record of sorrow for twenty years. Her first child, a daughter, Mary, was born in 1760 and died four years later. The second child, Margaret, known to her family as Peggy, was born in 1763 and lived unmarried with her father until 1825. After her mother's death she was her father's most devoted companion and support and her death shortly before his own was a great shock to him and undoubtedly to a great extent lessened his zest for life. After the birth of Peggy came five children, no two of them more than two years apart, and none of them lived to see a first birthday. There were two other Marys among them, an Edward and an Edward Augustus, as well as a Nancy, but none survived. The diary of Mrs. Holyoke during this period, bare as it is of any introspection or display of emotion, is indeed a pathetic calendar of entries. With intervals of scarcely over a year she notes that she was brought to bed and delivered of an infant. The child was named and some days or weeks later is the record



of the baby's illness, the names of her friends who "watched" with her, and the inevitable death. Between these tragic dates is always a brief and continuous account of dinners, tea-drinking, picnics and dances, at which the young Mrs. Holyoke doubtless tried to play the part of her doctor-husband's wife and forget the immediate and miserable past. The direct cause of this appalling mortality seems to have been generally a seizure of fits, and finally an autopsy was performed and in the doctor's words "the disorder was found to be in the bowels." Whether this meant dysentery, and if so what was its cause is not certain, but the experiences of Dr. Holyoke and his wife in this regard seemed to have been even more disastrous than was to be expected in those days of waste of infant life. Two other infants died, one of them another Edward Augustus, and three others lived to grow up. One, Betsy, died at the age of eighteen, and brief though the entry of her death is, it is eloquent of Mrs. Holyoke's grief. Judith, named for the doctor's first wife, was born in 1774 and married William Turner, well-known as a dancing master of his time in Salem. Susanna, born in 1779, was the only one, with Judith, of the doctor's many children who outlived their father. She married Joshua Ward and moved to Boston. Her daughter Susan married Charles Osgood, the portrait painter.

Social life in Salem, prior to the Revolution, as recorded in Mrs. Holyoke's diary was gay enough. In the earlier years of his marriage at least, the doctor escorted his wife on many of the parties which she constantly attended. They were often entertained by Colonel Benjamin Pickman at his summer house on Castle Hill, where he presided at many functions of one kind or another for his friends, and in the winter they dined frequently at his town house on Essex Street nearly opposite St. Peter Street, which is still standing as a shell only of its former self. They were often, too, at the house of Richard Lechmere, who in 1760 lived in the Browne mansion where the Essex House now stands. They danced at Jeffries and at Tapley's, and often went on picnics referred to

as Turtle Parties, doubtless because the chief delicacy was provided by large turtles brought into port from southern waters. They skated in the winter, a form of sport of which Dr. Holyoke was very fond, until as he aged he gave it up as inconsistent with the dignity required of his profession. Perhaps the particular form of social pleasure that appealed most to Dr. Holyoke was the Monday Night Club which met at the houses of its members, and which is frequently referred to in Mrs. Holyoke's diary. It had for its object the improvement of the minds of its members, particularly in philosophy and literature, by informal reading and conversation. To it belonged many of the leading men of the time in Salem, among them Andrew Oliver, Benjamin Lynde, Reverend Thomas Barnard, the elder, then minister of the First Church, Colonel Benjamin Pickman, Colonel Browne and Samuel Curwen. In this club originated the "Social Library" and the "Philosophical Library" which later united to form the Salem Athenæum, of which Dr. Holyoke was the first President from its organization in 1810 until his death. His historical interest was keen and he was the president of the Essex Historical Society, which was incorporated in 1821. He was one of the incorporators of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and was the president of that organization.

Mr. Charles W. Upham in a memoir of Francis Peabody read at the Essex Institute in 1868 said, in describing the efforts which had been made in Salem to promote literature, philosophy and history, "It is quite remarkable that in each stage of the progress a leading part was taken by one man, Dr. Holyoke; he signed the call for the meeting at the home of Mrs. Pratt, and was an original subscriber to the fund then raised to establish the Social Library; he was one of the purchasers of Dr. Kirwan's books, thus cooperating in founding the Philosophical Library; he was the first president of the Salem Athenæum and also the first president of the Essex Historical Society."

Such leisure as his profession and social intercourse afforded him he spent in reading and experimentation.



From his boyhood until his death, he had an extraordinary and persistent interest in meteorology, and he kept an accurate and minute record of his observations daily for eighty years. His thermometer was almost as much of a Salem institution as was the doctor himself, and Dr. Bentley's diary is filled with references to the readings of that famous instrument. If ever the weather was unusually cold, a rainy season especially prolonged, or the heat of the summer excessive, the record of it and comparisons with other years and other seasons was always to be had of Dr. Holyoke. He kept a daily table in which was recorded the temperature at four hours of the day, as well as the wind and weather, and these are now in the custody of the Essex Institute. His accounts of unusual storms or of the progress of comets were detailed and scientific in their accuracy. On one notable occasion when his famous thermometer was stolen by some malefactor, it was believed that the culprit must have come from out of town for no such sacrilege could be committed by a citizen of Salem.

Of more interest perhaps than in the case of so many of his fellow citizens whose fame rests upon more spectacular achievement, is Dr. Holyoke's appearance and his personal characteristics, so familiar to literally generations of his fellow citizens. His portrait was painted at least three times, once when he was forty-five years old, a profile by Benjamin Blythe, and again when he was a hundred years old, by Osgood. In Dr. Bentley's diary there is a reference under date of January 19, 1818 to a portrait of Dr. Holyoke then being executed by Mr. Frothingham, and five years earlier he had referred to a miniature of the doctor which had just been executed by Hancock. The first two of these portraits are reproduced in the Memoir of Dr. Holyoke published shortly after his death by the Essex South District Medical Society from which the greater part of the facts in the present account are taken. The Osgood portrait and the Frothingham portrait are in the Essex Institute in Salem. The Osgood portrait shows the same good forehead, long nose and chin of the earlier picture by Blythe, with fully as

much decision and character to the face as appeared in the representation made of the doctor fifty-five years before. His face and his costume is characteristic of an old man but the shrewd eye and firm lips are far removed from the ordinary decay of a centenarian. "In person," says the Rev. Mr. Brazer in the discourse which he delivered at Dr. Holyoke's funeral in the North Church on April 4, 1829, "Dr. Holyoke was below the natural height but his form was symmetrical and admirably fitted for strength, endurance and activity. His countenance was strongly marked but its expression though decided was mild and agreeable and his whole deportment was at the same time dignified and conciliatory."

From the time when he was forty-five years old he had some impairment of vision which required the use of glasses for forty years, but at the end of that period his sight returned in full strength and from then until his death he was able to read fine print without the use of spectacles. In the latter part of his life he was quite deaf and this infirmity was a great trouble to him and deprived him of much of the pleasure which he always derived from the conversation of his friends. In his early years he was fond of dancing and of French literature and the fine arts but indulged himself less and less in these diversions as he grew older and as they threatened to interfere with the practice of his profession. His only game was chess.

He had occasional attacks of illness but none of long duration or serious import. The only physical disability of which he spoke seriously apart from his deafness was an affection of his legs in the nature of cramps which he said he had always been subject to and which was apparently brought on by an occasional attack of indigestion. Dr. Bentley, in the winter of 1804, recorded that Dr. Holyoke fell upon the ice and was rendered senseless but that he then appeared to be on the road to recovery. In a letter written to a friend in October 1828, the year before his death, he recounts in detail his habits, diet and daily routine which in his opinion had much to do with his long life of health and activity. It is



only because Dr. Holyoke's extraordinary length of life and his professional career in Salem are really the most outstanding facts about him that it is perhaps worthwhile to refer to a few of his own observations about it.

When he first began to practice, so he wrote, he made his rounds to some extent on horseback, and in the latter part of his life he used a chaise. From the time that he was thirty until his eightieth year, however, except probably when weather or illness prevented him, he made his visits on foot and walked from five to six miles every day. He ate sparingly and of almost everything that was set before him having little interest in his food except for his extreme fondness for fruit of every kind. Coffee or tea with toast was breakfast enough, and bread, boiled rice and vegetables formed a large part of his midday meal. He was by no means a total abstainer but throughout his life was temperate and drank wine and spirits only sparingly. For the greater part of his life his usual drink was a mixture of rum, cider and water of which he drank half a pint with his dinner and another half pint in the evening. He smoked two pipes a day, one after dinner and again in the evening, and for eighty years held to the invariable habit of holding a small piece of pigtail tobacco in his mouth from breakfast until dinnertime and again throughout the afternoon. His only evening meal was tea with toast or bread and butter. He was so often called to see a patient after he retired at night that he soon found it convenient to sit up late in the evening which, as he says, occasioned his "lying in bed until a late hour in the morning, till seven in summer and eight in winter." He admonishes his friend that "as to the passions, I need not tell you that when indulged they injure health; that calm, quiet self-possession, and a moderation in our expectations and pursuits contribute much to our health and our happiness, and that anxiety is injurious to both."

The Reverend Dr. Brazer said that Dr. Holyoke joined easily in conversation but never took the lead in discussion and was careful to avoid a dictatorial air. He was habitually cheerful and light-hearted, occasionally playful

and indulged and joined in sallies of gaiety and wit. "His passions were naturally strong, and his temper warm and excitable. But both were brought under severe control by a self-discipline which was never relaxed."

Dr. Holyoke's minister continues:

"He observed the strictest temperance in regard to every self-indulgence; but he distinguished this from utter abstinence, which is, comparatively, a cheap and easy virtue. He esteemed it no part either of wisdom or religion to deny himself a proper use of the good gifts of God; but he was resolutely guarded against every kind and degree of excess." It may perhaps be inferred that the Reverend Dr. Brazer himself had no fault to find with the worthy doctor's habits.

As might be expected from the surroundings in which Dr. Holyoke was brought up he was a deeply religious man. Throughout his early life he was a member of the First Church in Salem and with others of his friends left that church upon the illness of the elder Barnard. He was one of the founders of the North Church of which the younger Barnard was installed as minister, and was one of a Committee appointed to superintend the building of the new church. He was an invariable attendant at services in the church and to the end of his life no day passed without religious devotions in his family. He shared the liberalism which in the latter part of his life invaded many of the orthodox churches and although it is not to be gathered from Dr. Brazer's comments that Dr. Holyoke subscribed to the new theology of Channing, he belonged, again in Dr. Brazer's words, "To that class of Christians which are denominated in the present-day Liberal, Catholic or Unitarian. He was educated in principles of faith different from these but after thorough and conscientious enquiry he adopted those which are known to be professed and entertained by the religious society which worships in this place." Dr. Holyoke after the Revolution was elected ruling elder of the North Church, and in 1805 he gave the church a silver tankard which is still in its possession.

Theology interested him far less than the influence of



religion upon conduct and in the last few years of his life he wrote an enumeration of the several duties which we owe contrasted on the opposite pages with their opposite vices. Some copies of this were printed for the use of his family and friends after his death and the document is printed in the Dictionary of the American Medical Biography by Kelly & Burrage in the article devoted to Dr. Holyoke.

The Revolution was a painful period in Dr. Holyoke's life. Many of the friends with whom he passed his leisure hours at the Monday Night Club and with whom he dined and visited were unsympathetic with the Revolution and left Salem when the war broke out. Dr. Holyoke himself was doubtless influenced by the views of such of his intimate and influential friends as Colonel Pickman and although he could not himself be classed as a Loyalist he felt that the actual separation of the colonies from Great Britain was premature. He was, however, keenly alive to the grievances of the Colonists and as early as 1765 he gave evidence of his sympathy with the viewpoint of the Colonists by serving on a committee appointed at a town meeting in Salem to draft instructions to its representative in the Legislature to do everything possible to obtain a repeal of the Stamp Act. His letters to his family in April of 1775 and the following months were neutral in their tone with reference to the conflict upon which the colonies had just embarked, but he refers to the provincials as "our men" in describing the Battle of Bunker Hill and seems gradually to have absorbed to some extent the partisan spirit about him. After the Battle of Lexington there was considerable fear in Salem of an armed attack and many people left town. Dr. Holyoke himself stayed in Salem and continued to practice his profession, and notwithstanding his lack of warmth for the Revolutionary cause such was the love and respect in which he was held that none of the indignities were visited upon him which fell upon so many others. He was, however, sufficiently alarmed at the disturbed condition of the town to send his wife and children to Nantucket which seems to have been

regarded as a sort of neutral ground which would be respected by both combatants. There assembled quite a colony of the families of inhabitants of Boston and surrounding places and Mrs. Holyoke and her children sailed for Nantucket on April 22, 1775 and lived there until their return shortly after the Battle of Bunker Hill. In his letters to her while she was away he speaks of the exodus of the inhabitants from Salem, and describes the great smoke plainly visible in Salem from the burning of Charlestown immediately prior to the engagement on the 17th of June.

It was at the beginning of the Revolution that Dr. Holyoke for one of the few times in his life involved himself somewhat unfortunately in political affairs. Various distinguished citizens of Salem signed an address complimentary to Governor Hutchinson who was about to leave the country. This published address caused a considerable amount of popular resentment and shortly afterward some of those who had signed it, including Dr. Holyoke, found it expedient to publish a sort of retraction. This apology is referred to most charitably in the Memoir of the Medical Association but it must have been humiliating to Dr. Holyoke and a matter of deep regret to him that he had departed from his ordinary custom and made an excursion into a field with which he was unfamiliar. This retraction was signed by twelve persons and entitled, "Recantation of Toryism, Salem, May 30, 1775" and reads as follows:

"Whereas we, the subscribers, did sometime since sign an address to Governor Hutchinson which though prompted to by the best intentions has nevertheless given great offense to our country; we do now declare that we were so far from designing by that action to show our acquiescence in those acts of Parliament so universally and justly odious to all America that on the contrary we hoped we might in that way contribute to their repeal though now to our sorrow we find ourselves mistaken. And we now further declare that we never intended the offense which this address has occasioned and that if we had foreseen such an event we should never have signed



it; as it always has been and now is our wish to live in harmony with our neighbors, and our serious determination to promote to the utmost of our power the liberty, the welfare and happiness of our country which is inseparably connected with our own."

It is perhaps to be feared that Dr. Holyoke's name was of such influence and of such respect in the community that some of his acquaintances in their desire to add its weight to their cause had persuaded the doctor to a course which would ordinarily not have commended itself to his better judgment.

Only one other incident at all analogous to this comes to mind and that is largely discounted by the sympathies of the one who recorded it. Dr. Bentley notes in his diary under date of March 21, 1804:

"The Federalist caucus has induced the venerable Dr. Holyoke to lend his name in the Gazette to the party politics of this day. Thus the good Washington lent his name and lost the favor of the people and of posterity."

Dr. Bentley appears to have been a better minister and diarist than he was a prophet.

Toward the end of his life, Dr. Holyoke, together with other eminent citizens seemed to have been considerably upset by the increase in the use of "segars." Dr. Bentley remarks in 1811, "In Salem great care has been taken to discourage the use of segars in the streets and public buildings. The worthy Dr. Holyoke put himself at the head of this Committee which consisted of 36 members and who as inspectors have obliged themselves to give all their influence to execute the Bye law on the subject. The excess had become extreme and the danger was very great from the careless use of fire in every situation. The Committee was one of the best ever employed upon such a concern." Dr. Holyoke infrequently tried his hand at verse and in one of the last years of his life expressed his feeling about the use of segars in a short poem in which he contrasted that disreputable habit with early use of slender white tubes.

He was a member of the earliest of the Fire Clubs.

In 1799 this organization had lost its original function and seems to have been kept alive only as a social organization and as a relic of the past. At that time Mr. Curwen withdrew at the age of eighty-five because of his deafness and the only members left besides Dr. Holyoke were Mr. Hiller and Mr. Robie, a contemporary and intimate friend of Dr. Holyoke who had gone to Nova Scotia during the Revolution and who died in Salem some years later.

The Doctor was always observant of the habits of his fellow citizens and interested in the progress of Salem and was frequently called upon by others for his recollections of past events. He notes that in 1737 square-toed shoes were going out of fashion and that by 1740 buckles instead of shoe strings had become universal. He speaks of the prevalence in his youth of very broad hats and remembers his father wearing one with a brim seven inches wide, cocked triangularly. He was disturbed at the extravagant expenses of funerals prior to the Revolution and gives it as one of the causes of the enactment of the sumptuary laws. He was impressed with the fact that some twenty-five years before the Revolution the houses in Salem were very ordinary. The first handsome house, he says, was built by Jonathan Turner followed by Col. Benjamin Pickman's and then by Mr. Cabot's. A few chaises were kept by gentlemen but they were not apparently in common use. Salem at that time (about 1750) had from five thousand to six thousand inhabitants. The cod fishery was flourishing and commerce was chiefly with Spain and Portugal and the West Indies, especially St. Eustatia. The Doctor notes that in the autumn, the schooners took fish, rum and molasses to Virginia and Maryland, spent the winter retailing their cargoes and brought back corn, wheat, and tobacco. This cruise, he notes, was not ordinarily profitable but served a purpose in keeping together the fishing crews which otherwise would have been scattered during the winter months.

Dr. Holyoke must have been intensely interested in the growth of the town after the Revolution. It surely



was a source of great satisfaction to him in his later years to witness the laying out of Chestnut Street and the building of the great houses along it, as well as the erection of Hamilton Hall. His own wife and daughter, as appears from frequent notes in Mrs. Holyoke's diary, attended regularly the Assemblies and the doctor often went with them. Mrs. Holyoke died at the beginning of the new century and the dancing parties which they attended in the Assembly Hall were probably held in the old Hall on Cambridge Street. It is possible that his unmarried daughter, Peggy, as well as Judith, who married Mr. Turner, may have attended assemblies in Hamilton Hall and perhaps the doctor went with them. In any event, at the celebration of the two-hundredth anniversary of the landing of Endicott, which was celebrated with considerable ceremony in 1828 the venerable doctor presided at the banquet in Hamilton Hall. He was then one hundred years old and had lived the entire second century after the event in memory of which the guests were assembled. This was his last public appearance and followed closely upon the public dinner tendered him by his medical friends in honor of his hundredth birthday. It is perhaps of some interest in the light of recent events, that the Memoir on Dr. Holyoke published by the Essex South District Medical Society, shortly after his death, speaks of the celebration on September 13, 1828 as "The centennial anniversary of the settlement of the town."

Little has yet been said of Dr. Holyoke's professional life as a physician and yet it was his very life compared with which all his other activities were but incidents. The evidence is overwhelming that his fame rested not merely upon his length of service but more securely upon his skill as a physician. From his first discouraging days in Salem until a few weeks before his death some eighty years afterward he studied, experimented, kept in eager contact with the progress of the medical art in this country and abroad, contributed valuable discussions to medical journals, wrote records invaluable to his contemporaries of his vast experience, practiced his own pro-

fession and taught others to practice it. For half a century he was, as Upham terms it, "The teacher of his profession." He kept his day books without interruption, recording all his professional visits, and in his active lifetime he filled 120 such day books of 90 pages each, with the record of 30 visits on each page. For 75 years he averaged over 11 visits a day and in one epidemic he made over 100 visits each day for a period of several days. At one period it is said to have been literally true that there was not a single house in Salem which he had not visited professionally. He kept a daily record of every disease which came to his attention and later tabulated these records according to the different maladies, the incidence of disease and the percentage of fatality, and he continually urged upon other physicians the great use to the community of a general practice of making such records and giving to others the benefit of them. He compounded his own prescriptions, for in the early days of his practice, at least, a practical knowledge of pharmacy was an essential part of a doctor's qualifications. In this he was most neat and skilful and the demands upon his time must surely have been extraordinary. His prescriptions were for the most part based upon the use of four drugs, mercury, antimony, opium and quinine, and of these he prescribed many different compounds. Always cautious where his patients were involved, he eagerly absorbed suggestions garnered from reported cases, and within the strictest limits of safety he experimented with his remedies and devised modes of treatment which were then new to the profession and were used commonly for many years later with the greatest benefit. No professional jealousy influenced him to keep these results to himself but he felt it a part of his duty to give the widest currency to everything which he discovered which might benefit the sick.

The unremitting application of the doctor to his daily work was extraordinary. From 1749 until his death, eighty years later, he never went further from home than on the occasion of one trip to Portsmouth which he made shortly after he first came to Salem, and was then



gone five days. When he married Miss Vial he was kept in Boston for about two weeks, and he occasionally visited his family or friends in Cambridge or Boston for a day or two. His longest absence from Salem was in 1764, when he was inoculated for the smallpox by Dr. Perkins in Boston. This was no trivial event in those days and Dr. Holyoke, after he had satisfied himself of the soundness of the practice, submitted himself to a painful and disagreeable ordeal which had then hardly passed beyond the stage of experiment. For this he prepared himself for some days by medicine and diet and executed his will before he left his home for Boston on April 6, 1764. There he stayed recovering from his illness for twenty-nine days, the longest period that he was ever absent from his patients in his life, and was brought home on May 4th. In addition to his daily rounds of calls in Salem, he made frequent professional visits over a territory rather formidable in size for a general practitioner even in these days of motor cars. His wife's diary has frequent records of the doctor's visits at Cape Ann, Methuen, Ipswich, Boxford, Lynn and Reading, and occasionally it was necessary for him to spend the night. The smallpox in the middle of the eighteenth century was a frightful scourge, and Mrs. Holyoke records that two out of three who had the disease in the ordinary way died of it. On his recovery from his inoculation, Dr. Holyoke was vigorous in promoting the erection of a smallpox hospital where he inoculated some six hundred patients with only two fatal cases. Later, when vaccination took the place of inoculation, Dr. Holyoke was one of the first to use it, although in his later years this duty seems largely to have been taken over in Salem by other physicians, among whom were Dr. Osgood, Dr. Parker, Dr. Little, and Dr. Paine. He was, however, as Bentley notes, frequently consulted in difficult cases by the younger doctors. He was a skilled obstetrician and so widespread was his attendance that during one period of ten years of his practice his records show that he delivered 946 babies.

Dr. Holyoke was not primarily a surgeon and, although

he was equipped and ready to perform minor surgical operations, he seldom was called upon to undertake an amputation or other major surgery. It is said that for a period of twenty-five years, great as his practice was, he never performed or witnessed the amputation of a large limb, but his qualifications to perform such an operation are indicated by a bill which he rendered to the Colony of Massachusetts Bay during the Revolution for dressing the wounds of provincial soldiers, including the amputation of an arm. Doubtless the habits of the day and the occupation of the people at that time accounted in large part for the comparative scarcity of serious injuries.

One of the most important professional duties which Dr. Holyoke performed was the instruction of young physicians who came to live with him and learn the art of medicine in accordance with the practice of the day. He received pupils during almost the entire course of his professional career, and among them were numbered many eminent physicians and surgeons of the time, such as Dr. James Lloyd, Dr. John Warren, Dr. Nathaniel Walker Appleton, and perhaps the most famous of all, Dr. James Jackson, who, in later years, referred to him with affection and respect as his glorious old master who instilled into him accuracy of observation and moderation in treatment. In James Jackson Putnam's Biography of Dr. James Jackson, it is said of Dr. Holyoke, "This remarkable teacher was then the foremost physician in New England." Dr. Bentley in 1811 said in his diary, "Dr. Holyoke is the most interesting character of my own times in Salem, from his professional reputation and unspotted character and the warm affections of all our citizens," and Mr. Upham in 1868 referred to Dr. Holyoke's "professional practice of unrivalled duration, accompanied by careful observation and an admirable judgment, which made him the great oracle among physicians, large numbers of whom, from all quarters, gathered round him as the guide of their early studies." That his eminence as a physician was more than local is evidenced by the fact that he was one of the thirty-one



incorporators of the Massachusetts Medical Society which was given its charter on November 1, 1781. Dr. Holyoke was probably not one of the prime movers in the establishment of this old society, the idea of which originated with Dr. Cotton Tufts of Weymouth and certain Boston physicians. Dr. Holyoke, however, called the first meeting of the Society and was elected first temporary president and later the first permanent president of the Massachusetts Medical Society. He seems not to have attended the meetings with regularity, doubtless feeling his primary obligation to lie with his patients in Salem, but he was intensely interested in it, and frequently contributed many professional papers and served upon committees of the Society. He received the first M. D. degree conferred by Harvard College in 1783, and in 1813 Harvard gave him a degree of Doctor of Laws. He was president of the Essex South District Medical Society.

Dr. Holyoke's only association with strictly commercial enterprises which comes to mind was his interest in the Salem Iron Mill. This company was formed in 1796 by Nathan Read, who had devised a nail machine that was a notable improvement upon existing methods. Mr. Read was a friend of Dr. Holyoke and the doctor was one of the original subscribers to the shares of the company. The enterprise proved successful and was the predecessor of the Sylvester works in Danvers.

To a few other quasi-public projects Dr. Holyoke contributed his name, an asset of inestimable value in Salem where it was synonymous with honesty and responsibility. What better name than his could be found to associate with the first Savings Bank in the town, and what more convincing pledge of public interest could be offered by that great merchant William Gray than the fact that Dr. Holyoke was willing to be one of the incorporators of the Salem Turnpike and Chelsea Bridge Corporation? Perhaps the magic of his name is best illustrated by its adoption fourteen years after his death by the mutual fire insurance company which still worthily perpetuates it in the city which he honored.

The venerable doctor did not long survive the honors

of his hundredth year. After the dinner which his medical friends tendered him on August 13, 1828, and which he enjoyed with apparent zest and perfect health, he continued the daily round of his professional duties. But on November 24th he injured his leg in getting out of his carriage, and after January 25th of the new year he did not go out again. For the first time in eighty years his familiar and well-beloved figure was gone from the streets of Salem. The interest in his condition was great, for he had come to belong to Salem perhaps more intimately even than to his only two surviving daughters who had families of their own, or the friends of his old age. When he died on the last day of March all the church bells in the town were tolled, a mark of public respect which had been reserved only for the presidents of the United States; and to his funeral in the North Church there poured forth a mighty throng of people to honor him. They listened to Dr. Brazer, who had known him not long but long enough to know him, deliver an address of such moving interest as might be expected only when his great ability was inspired by the sincerity of his sense of loss.

A life of little interest to us, perhaps, if interest is excitement or adventure. But it may not be amiss to record a long life of duty and of devotion and of self-restraint; and it may be doubted if in the whole history of Salem there ever lived a man who did more good than Dr. Holyoke. And for this, said Dr. Brazer, "He reaped the reward of a well-spent life, not only in the returns of an approving conscience; but in the unsought, the voluntary, the eager tribute of respect and reverence with which his presence was everywhere greeted."





## STAGE POINT AND THEREABOUTS.

BY J. FOSTER SMITH.

Stage Point in Salem was so designated as early as 1640 (perhaps even earlier); at any rate the name appears in the records but fourteen years after the first settlement, and for more than two centuries the locality seems to have been generally and legally known under that title. It was only after the adjacent land in the South Fields—until then mostly mowing lots—became the site of a new and flourishing industry, that the particularly descriptive part of the title was dropped, and the name was shortened to "The Point."

Following that time, it was not long before the entire neighborhood of the factory, with many new streets, multiplying dwellings for operatives and their families, small shops for household necessities, and a licensed saloon or two (in the custom of the time), became generally known and spoken of as "The Point." This sobriquet apparently fitted well, for it lasted ninety years,—anyway since the time the factory was incorporated,—has withstood the devastation of the Great Fire and the subsequent new layout and rebuilding, and today, with most of us, is naturally referred to under that long-time and familiar name.

The early settlers seem to have adopted descriptive and easy names for the environs of their new habitation, and situated as it was, between two tidal rivers of some size, the one waterway was immediately called the North River, the other the South River,—obviously appropriate names, and accordingly lasting.

In like manner, the early anchorages were named in such a way that no further description of their advan-



tages and use is necessary. Wood, in his "New England Prospect," remarked in 1633: "Salem hath two good Harbours, the one called Winter, the other Summer Harbour, which lieth within Darbies Fort." Referring to Winter Harbor, which we know as Cat Cove, and with reference to the rather complicated entrance to it, as well as to other havens along the coast, Higginson observed that "they are the better, because for strangers there is a very difficult and dangerous passage into them, but unto such as are acquainted with them, they are easie and safe enough."

Again, in the matter of names, it appears that to the north and to the south of the settlement there was abundance of cleared land, whether naturally treeless or cleared by the Indians for cornfields is unknown, but at any rate the tracts were of such size and prominence that they were remarked in the earliest records, and from the first designated the North Fields and the South Fields,—again names that have come down unchanged through the generations.

And so it is with the subject of this paper. Given a gravelly cape of some elevation at the entrance to South River, a bold shore line with quickly deepening water to afford easy and safe beaching for the small craft of the time, a reasonably smooth surface of an acre or two in extent, a southerly exposure to the sun,—given all these and one has an ideal location for flakes or stages, for curing and drying fish,—presto, the perfect name suggests itself,—*Stage Point!*

Thus, having every reason for it, the name held on through the centuries, long after the last fish stage had fallen in decay and the ancient use become tradition only.

To the present generation the name "Stage Point" suggests a landing platform for some harbor craft, the place of departure of a coach,—nothing reminiscent of fish or the fishing industry; but to earlier generations the name brought recollections of long ranges of rude scaffolds closely spread with salted cod drying in the clear New England sunshine, the characteristic savor of the fish—ancient then as now—floating away to leeward,

rugged men and women, cleaning, splitting, salting, spreading, turning the abundant harvest of the sea,—of a steep gravel beach, with grounded shallops waiting the flood tide, and red-faced and whiskered fishermen mending nets and gear, stowing bait and food, and then, just as today, yarning, smoking, quarrelling.

And recollections, too, of rude canoes constantly coming and going between this favored spot and other stages at Winter Island, or across the river to the town, ferrying passengers and great stacks of fish ready for transport on the first ship sailing to the old country.

They would have recollection of the mellow knocking of the coopers as they hooped huge casks of salted fish for England, the pleasant tang of oak chips from the place where the shipwright fashioned the timber for a broken stern-post, and the acrid smell of pitch as some sailor coated the bottom of his boat, left high and dry by the ebbing tide, and of the rhythmic cadence of the calkers' mallets in the shipyard along the beach,—a picture of industry that had its beginning and its continuing existence in the Sea!

From my earliest recollections of the Point, I recall that a huge rock dominated it, and made a striking landmark on the otherwise barren surface. This rock was perhaps glacier-borne to its unique position, and had on its southern side a deep overhang, making a natural fireplace, and this side was blackened by the smoke of countless fires,—perhaps by fires lighted at tribal feasts of the aborigines in their annual visits to the sea, perhaps by fires used in cooking for sailors and workers in the old days of the fish stages, and certainly, in later years, by the fires of the "Pointers" for their fish-fries and clam-bakes on this sightly spot, which for time out of mind seems to have been a sort of "No Man's Land" and free to all who cared to visit it.

It used to be a favorite stunt for the Point children to scale the rock, and from the precarious footing at the top—it stood perhaps six feet high—view the world, and it is not difficult to imagine, in those earliest days, some keen-eyed youngster perched thereon scanning the verdant



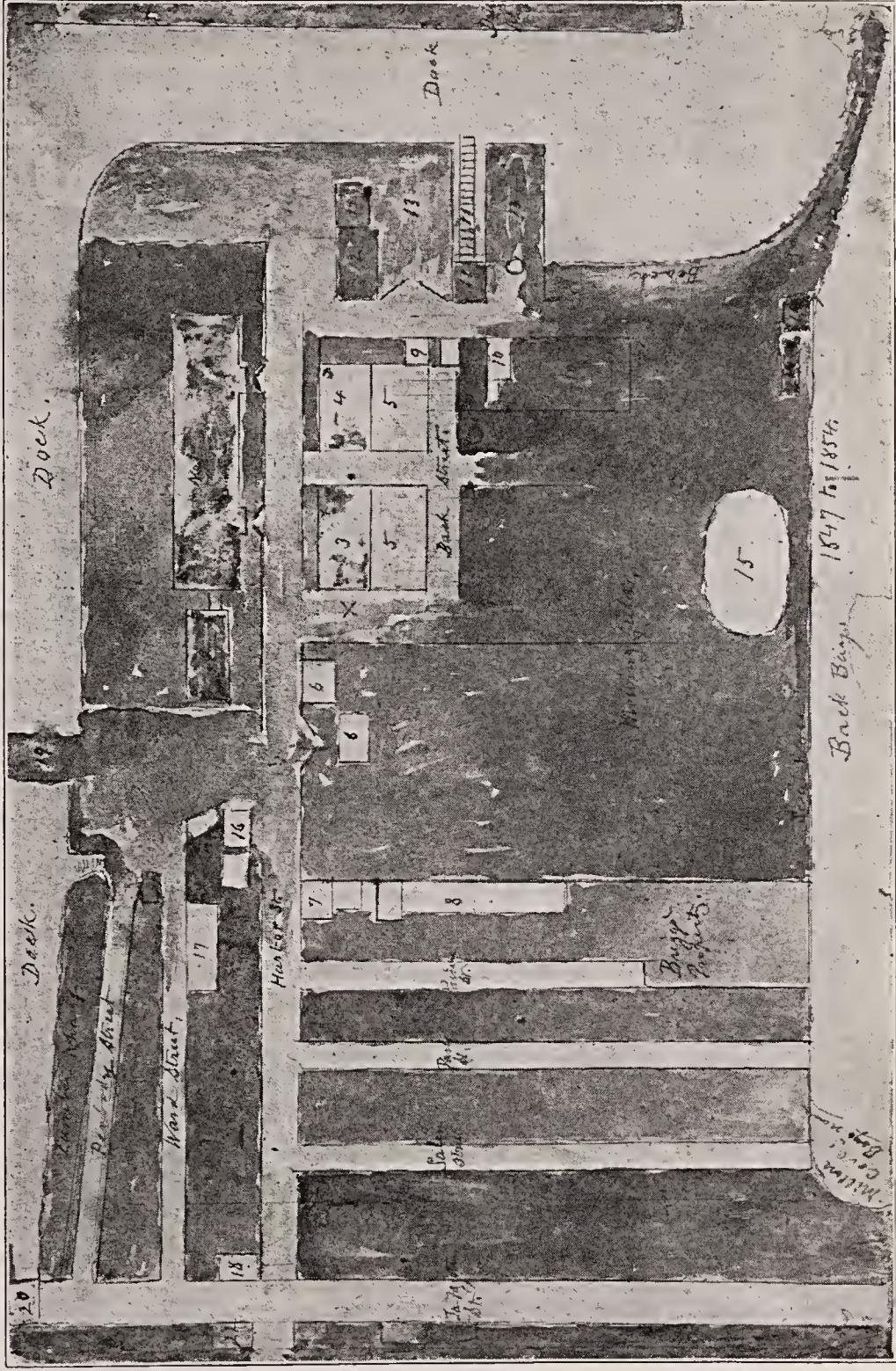
shore across the harbor, the bare expanse of the Neck, the thick forests of the North Shore and the wooded islands, to the open sea, where perchance he espies a sail just topping the horizon. His loud halloo brings everyone a-running, and there is joy and wild anticipation, for it means a ship from England bringing news of home and friends,—perhaps bearing brothers, sisters, to join them in this faraway land of their adoption. Or it may be that some other day they watch a loaded ship come down the river, and clearing the winding channel of the shallow stream, hoist sail and bear away to sea—and England.

England—home—how many eyes are dim with tears, what hearts are filled with longings, what throats are thick with sobs, as hands are waved and hearty wishes wafted toward the speeding bark! England—green lanes, cultivated fields, ordered towns, sheltered villages, the hawthorne in bloom—everything that one has known and loved. America—rude, unknown, the trackless forest peopled with savage men, filled with the terror of strange beasts, the abode of evil spirits, endless swamps and fens; no friendly lanes to other hamlets, no social intercourse with congenial neighbors, none of the amenities of life, even of those days,—the little group knew only this,—ahead of that fast lessening sail was England across three thousand miles of ocean, or measured in time,—six, eight, ten weeks away, and behind them in this little settlement on the fringe of America stretched a vast world of the unknown,—alien, unkind.

No doubt there were those who did return to the old home, but the greater number elected to remain, facing privations of every sort, and steadfastly carrying on, building the foundation and carving the structure which was to develop into our beloved Commonwealth and our glorious Nation! We revere their memory.

In all the early chronicles there is frequent and consistent mention of the abundance of fish in the waters of Massachusetts, and of the laws and regulations to preserve and foster the fishing industry. From the time of Bartholomew Gosnold's visit to these shores, in 1602,





SKETCH MAP OF STAGE POINT IN 1847.  
 Drawn from memory by Francis A. Moreland.





particular stress was laid on the amazing quantity of fish, and the explorer named the most notable landmark along the coast for the shoals of Cod fish in the neighborhood, and the redoubtable Captain John Smith mentions the same abundance of fish in a narrative of his voyage along the Massachusetts coast in 1614.

Mr. Higginson, in his "New England Plantation," writes: "The abundance of sea fish is almost beyond believing. I saw store of whales and crampuss, and such abundance of mackerils, that it would astonish one to behold, likewise codfish in abundance on the coast. There is a fish called a basse. Of this fish, our fishers take many hundred together. We take plentie of skate and thornbacks, and abundance of lobsters, herring, turbut, sturgeon, cusks, haddocks, mullets, eels, crabs, muskles, and oysters." Besides the fish mentioned by Mr. Higginson, there were of course the alewife, the menhaden or porgy, hake, pollock and shad, the ubiquitous flounder, and in addition to "muskles and oysters" there was also the succulent clam, and in the brackish water of what we know as the Mill Pond, great quantities of quohaug.

In reference to the bass and cod, the Legislature, 1639, forbid them to be used for manure, except their head and offal. As an indication of the profit the cod was to the State and also of its abundance, there is the following record: an indenture for a new draw over our North River, 1755, has a circular stamp on the top, which besides 11 pence at the bottom, has a cod in the middle, and round the fish, "Staple of Massachusetts." Of course we all recall the effigy of a codfish in the State House, and incidentally a stratum of society yclept Codfish Aristocracy, and more recently the futile attempt to perpetuate the sacred cod on the number plates of our motor cars.

Further indication of the importance of the fisheries is shown in a letter written by the Governor and Deputy of the Massachusetts Company in England to Mr. Endecott, 1629,—it requests that fishermen—of whom six from Dorchester are coming over—may, with part of the crews, take fish, and that this be cured in hogsheads, or otherwise, on board the *Whelp* and *Talbot*, and sent home in



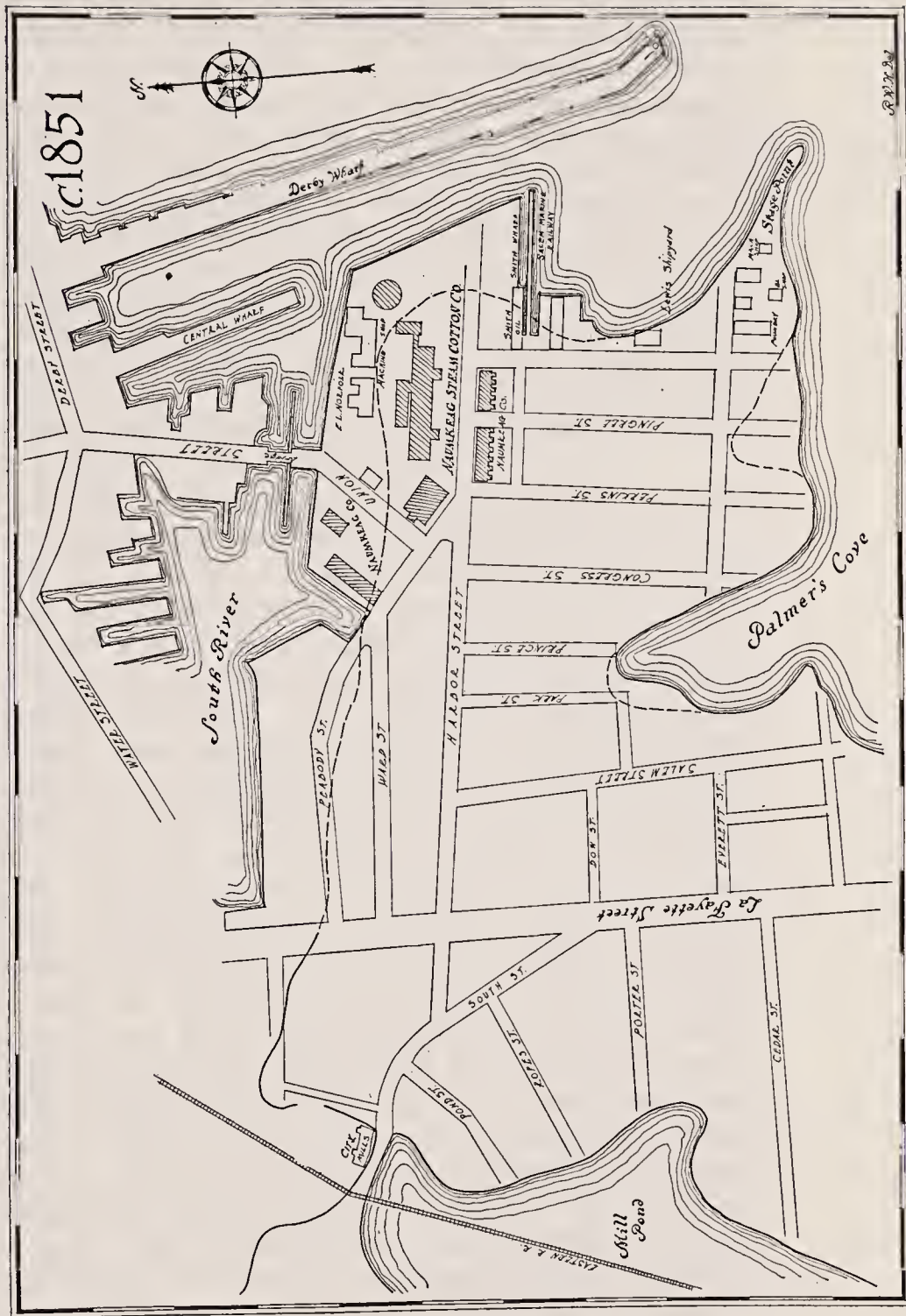
either of these vessels. In another letter the same year to Mr. Endecott, there is mentioned as additional to the six on board the *Lyon's Whelp*, three more fishermen now sent by Mr. Craddock, and there is enumerated quantities of salt, with lines, hooks, knives, boots and barrels, for the fishery, as shipped in these vessels. It leaves the fishermen to be employed either "in harbor or upon the banks" as may seem best. The letter also requests Mr. Endecott to build a storehouse for the fishermen.

How early Stage Point was used as a fishing station is not known, neither is it known when the industry of curing fish ceased to be the principal business of the location, but the certificate of membership in the Salem Marine Society, circa 1785, carries an engraving of Stage Point, with Derby Wharf across the way, and in the distance a view of the Marblehead shore, the islands, particularly Baker's with its lighthouse, and the Beverly shore. There is a small ship careened on the beach, but no indication of fish flakes, nothing but a small shanty, a stone wall, and some rail fences—a bleak outlook. However, on the certificate there are also four smaller engravings or vignettes, one of which depicts the interior of a warehouse with two husky workmen with a screw press packing a stack of dry codfish into a huge hogshead, so it may be that even then the place was justifying its appellation.

The other pictures represent, first, a good-sized vessel careened on the beach for graving, the crew burning off the weeds and barnacles, while a cloud of smoke from the operation envelopes the hull; a second picture is of a schooner anchored a little offshore with a small boat putting off to it, and a third is a launching, with the ship just going down the ways to the hand-wavings and probably cheers of a small but interested group of workmen and spectators.

The scene of the launching must have been somewhat to the north of Stage Point, and probably at Briggs' shipyard, beyond which was the marine railway, the oilworks, and possibly several wharves.

In this connection, it is interesting to quote from a



PLAN II—Stage Point, showing the original Mill and Corporation Boarding Houses, about 1851.





paper by Henry M. Brooks, entitled "Some Localities about Salem" (Historical Collections 1894-95). Referring to that period, about 1840, Mr. Brooks stated:

The place called "Stage Point," or as the old people called it, "Stage Pint," was near the location of the Naumkeag Cotton Mills. There was formerly on the eastern side a marine railway for hauling up vessels to be coppered or repaired, and nearby a beach, where they used to "grave" or "caulk" vessels. Later Mr. Miller had a shipyard just beyond the railway, opposite the end of Derby Wharf. Here was built, among other vessels, the barques *Glide* and *Imaum*, and the brig *M. Shepard*, belonging to John Bertram, Esq. Some years before this, say 1820-1835, Pickering Dodge, a well-known wealthy merchant, had a wharf here, and Caleb Smith, a sperm oil and candle factory.

In addition to the industries mentioned by Mr. Brooks, lead manufacturing was carried on for several years at a site not far from the mouth of the river. The business does not appear to have been successful, and we read in Osgood and Batchelder's "Historical Sketch of Salem": "Lead manufacturing has been carried on in Salem since 1826, when the Salem Lead Company, formed in 1823, commenced operations on the site of the Naumkeag Mills. The company was incorporated Feb. 7, 1824, with a capital stock of about \$200,000, which was afterwards increased. In 1835, the works were sold at auction for \$20,500. The total loss to the date of sale had been \$120,000. About 1826, Col. Francis Peabody commenced the white lead business in South Salem, where Lagrange Street now is. In 1830, he purchased Wyman's Grist Mills, on Forest River, and the mixing and the grinding was done there, the corroding being done at the old works. In 1843, these mills were sold to the Forest River Lead Company. The works on the site of Lagrange Street were torn down, and a number of dwellings located near them moved to lots adjoining the Forest River Mills."

The only trace of the original Salem Lead Company that the writer can recall is the huge number of broken corroding pots excavated in the Mill yard at the time of rebuilding the plant.



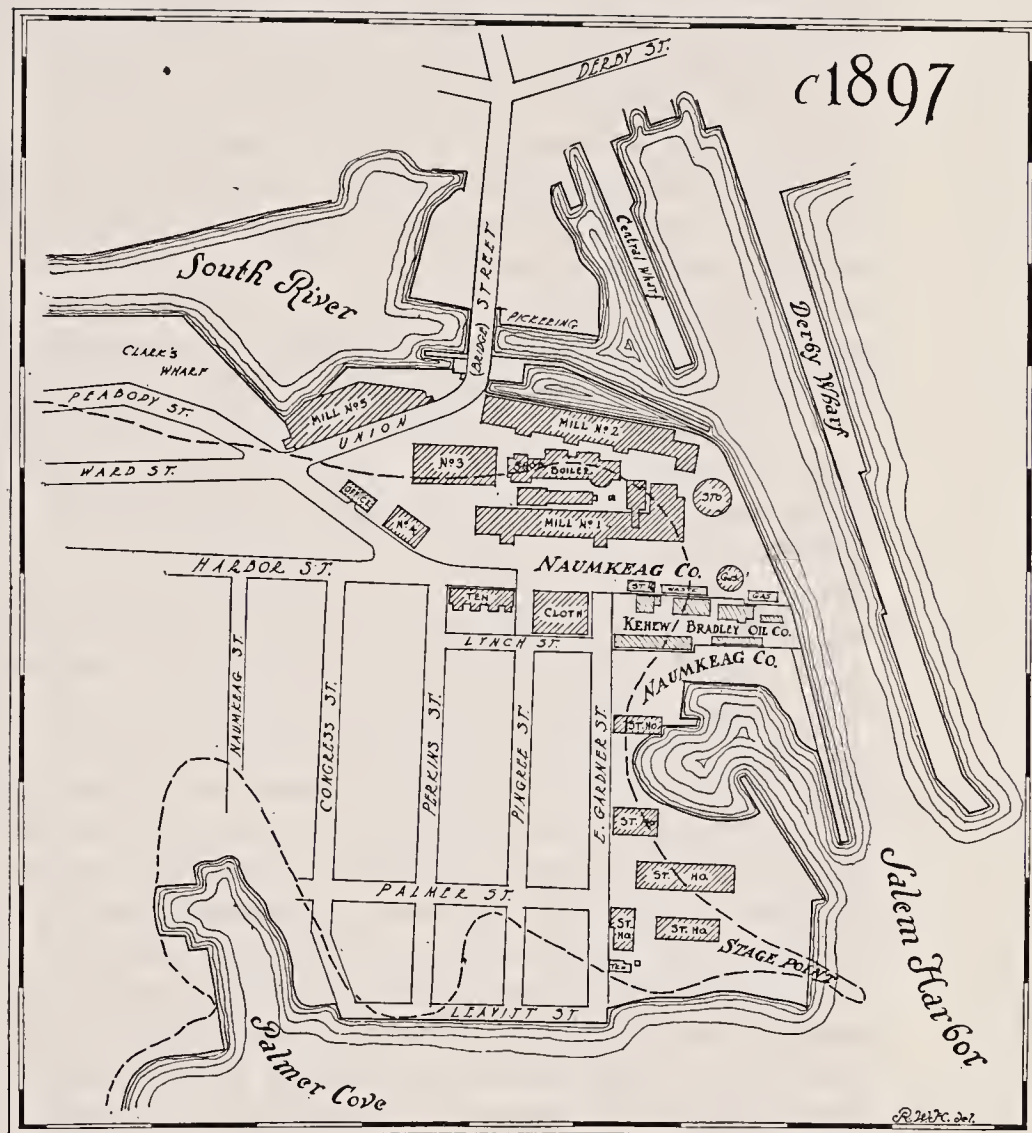
To return to our subject. Stage Point was owned by the Brown family. William Brown was its owner just before the Revolutionary War. As has already been stated, in earlier papers of this series, William Brown was a staunch Royalist and went to England. His property being confiscated, the town bought the location for a careening station and ordered it to be paid for, 1781. They let it, 1788, for £7 per annum; 1797 for \$30; 1802 for \$35; and 1837 for \$40. In 1803 prices for graving and sheathing vessels on Stage Point were adopted and published, the prices graduating with the size of the ship. Under 50 tons, graving 25c a ton, sheathing 10c a ton a day; from 50 to 100 tons, graving 50c a ton, sheathing 15c a ton a day; and so on in increases of 50 or 100 tons until a tonnage of 300 to 400 was reached, and this seems to have been considered the limit of size possible. The price for a ship of 400 tons burden was \$1.25 a ton for graving, and 30c a ton a day for sheathing.

"Graving," or as it was also called "breaming," was the operation of cleaning a ship's bottom by burning off the grass, mud, shells, seaweed, and what-not which it had contracted while lying in the harbor. It was performed by holding kindled fagots or reeds to the bottom, which, by melting the pitch which covered it, loosened whatever was adhering to the planks. The bottom was afterwards covered with a compound of sulphur, tallow and other things, which served the double purpose of smoothing it off and poisoning and destroying the worms which often eat through the planks in the course of a voyage.

"Sheathing" was the operation of covering the bottom of a ship with thin boards secured by a special kind of nail, this sheathing coming between the planks of the hull and the copper.

The writer has no knowledge of the amount of business done in the sixty years of the town's ownership of Stage Point, but in any event, at a meeting of the City Council, October 11, 1841, the following order was passed:

ORDERED, that the Mayor be authorized to sell that piece of real estate belonging to the city known by the name of Stage Point, bounded as follows, westerly on land of Joseph



PLAN III—Stage Point about 1897, showing the Naumkeag Mills previous to the Salem fire. Note the change from Plan I in the coast line, due to filling in.





Peabody, northerly on South River, easterly by land of the Lead Factory Company, southerly on a road leading to said Lead Factory.

Attest J. CLOUTMAN, City Clerk.

And the record at the Court House shows that the City of Salem, October 16, 1841, conveyed the property to David Pingree for \$1,000, the deed being signed by Stephen C. Phillips, Mayor, and acknowledged by him to be *his* free act and deed (rather than the free act and deed of the City of Salem). This little indiscretion, or lapse, of the worthy Mayor, was corrected October 31, 1867, when the City of Salem gave Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company a confirmatory deed to cure any informality in the deed previously given to David Pingree of the Stage Point property, so called, which had been conveyed by said Pingree to the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company.

So the ancient occupation of the place seems to have passed with the deed,—Stage Point, which for two centuries had been dedicated to the sea and to things related thereto, and had echoed and re-echoed to the husky throatings of men who go down to the sea in ships, had lost its pristine use. Also it was losing its identity, for slowly but inexorably the Point was washing away! Exposed to the full force of the heavy seas pushed up by the easterly storms, its gravelly structure had never been able to withstand the action of tide and wave, and from the time of the building of Derby Wharf there had been added a new destructive agency in the swifter running current of the South River. This stream for countless ages had debouched into a wide arc of the harbor, but now, barred by the long stretch of the wharf, the current was turned sharply southward, thrown against the side of the Point and, deflecting to the east, took with it each tide more and more of the gravelly substance of the ancient landmark, leaving at last only a number of rough boulders to mark its rugged outline, and at flood tide even these were submerged.

#### BEGINNINGS OF THE COTTON INDUSTRY.

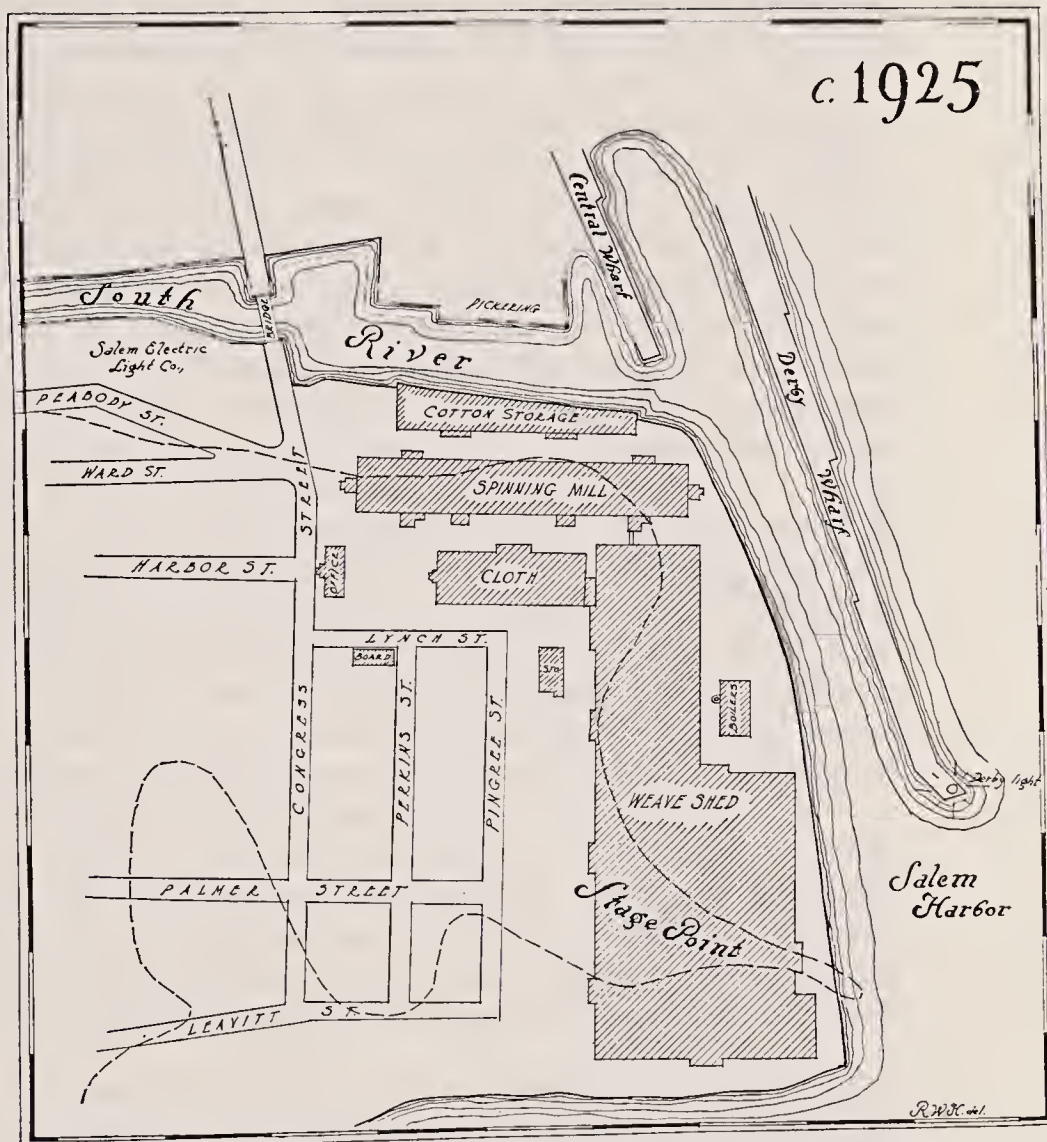
And other agencies were at work to supplant the ancient prestige and established occupation of the Point, for at



that time, a hundred years ago, the town was suffering from the effects of the disastrous embargo placed upon her shipping during the Napoleonic wars and the war of 1812, when her wharves had been double-lined with idle vessels for many months, and her seamen scattered and entering other professions. Added to this setback, was the inevitable drift of maritime business to the greater cities of Boston and New York, with the result that many merchants, shipowners and shipmasters, reluctant to follow the business to new centres, found themselves in the position of looking about for some other investment for their funds.

It was therefore entirely natural that their attention should be directed to the new industry of cotton spinning and weaving already established on the Charles River at Waltham, on the Merrimac at Chelmsford, in the new village of Lowell, and along the Blackstone Valley in Rhode Island.

The fact that the new enterprises were prosperous led some adventurous souls in Salem to believe that a cotton mill might be successfully operated in their own town. To be sure, there was no water-power, and there wasn't the natural humidity necessary for the proper manipulation of the cotton fibre and known to be a concomitant to every water-course; but against these facts it was argued that with the improved steam-engine and the ease with which the new fuel, coal, could be brought by water directly to the mill, steam power could be produced with sufficient economy to compete with the water-wheel. While, as for humidity, that would be adequately supplied by the rise and fall of the tide, provided the mill was built along the water front, and to this end, and quite naturally, a site was selected at Stage Point, directly opposite the historic Derby Wharf, as filling all the requirements of an ideal location, since there was sufficient area of land, a bold shore line affording a depth of water ample for vessels bringing cotton and coal, and last, but not least,



PLAN IV—The new Naumkeag Mills, 1925, showing the almost complete obliteration of the old Point.





the flooding and ebbing tides close at hand for humidifying the atmosphere.\*

The important detail of raising the required capital for the new enterprise, and this was estimated at a half million dollars, was largely accomplished by Nathaniel Griffin, a retired shipmaster, who later, in 1846, became the first Treasurer of the Company. (It is interesting to note that fifty years later, in 1896, his grandson, Nathaniel Griffin Simonds, became Treasurer, and held that position until 1926, when he retired, after a total service with the company of sixty-four years.) The Company was incorporated in 1839, but the money must have come in slowly, since building operations did not start until several years later, this in spite of the fact that the list of original stockholders includes the names of most of the prominent merchants, ship-owners and shipmasters of the old town, and representative names from every town and village in Essex County.

The new venture was incorporated under the name of "*Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company*"—"Naumkeag" for the ancient Indian name of the locality, and "Steam" to differentiate the Mill from other factories in New England which were universally operated by water-power. This name is now somewhat of a misnomer, as the power is entirely electric, steam being used only for heating in cold weather and for certain minor operations.

Production was in full swing in 1847, and excerpts from the final report of the engineer in charge are interesting. The engineer was Col. Charles T. James, evidently a man of more than ordinary ability, since the mill was undoubtedly much in advance of any hitherto built

\*The need for a very moist atmosphere in cotton-spinning is to keep down the static electricity, to which the cotton fibre is very susceptible, and which, if active, causes the individual fibres to repel each other, thus defeating the process of twisting and spinning. In modern days this moisture is provided by artificial humidification, but in early days manufacturers relied largely on natural conditions, as along water-courses or in localities naturally humid. Lancashire, England, became the greatest cotton-spinning district in the world on account of the favorable conditions induced by the consistent and well-nigh perpetual precipitation there.



in this country, and up to the time of its destruction in 1914, compared most favorably with mills designed and built a half century later, particularly in such matters as width in relation to height, lighting, sanitation and other details not particularly stressed in early mill construction.

Colonel James writes:—

The work on the Naumkeag Mill has continued to progress, and has finally reached its completion; and you will permit me to tender my congratulations to the Board on the pleasing fact that the mill is now in full and successful operation in all its departments. Notwithstanding much of the machinery is of a novel character, and of a heavy description, yet the operation of the entire mass is such as to give perfect satisfaction; and its performance is quite equal to the anticipations of all concerned. Your Engineer may be permitted to say, he is perfectly willing the Naumkeag Mill, as to its appearance, arrangement and operation and the quality of its work, should be tested by the closest scrutiny and the most thorough examination, by men of the best practical operative skill in this country, or any other.

The work having now been completed and the bills all gathered in, I am able to make a definite statement of the entire cost. After having collected and summed up the various items of expenditure involved in the prosecution of the work, as well as the purchase of real estate, etc., the full amount is found to be six hundred and twenty-one thousand, one hundred and ninety-nine dollars and ten cents; which makes the cost per spindle twenty dollars and ninety-one cents; or about twelve per cent higher than the former estimate. The footing exhibits, it is true, a heavy aggregate, but it will be remembered too, that the Naumkeag Mill is of much larger dimensions, and contains much more machinery, than any other Cotton Manufactory in the Union. Besides, there is included in this amount, the cost of real estate, etc., of no practical use to the mill, valued at more than fifty thousand dollars, besides the boarding houses, which cost more than thirty-five thousand. The Mill has earned something over fifteen thousand dollars in six months, under very unfavorable circumstances, such as delay in starting machinery, loss from decline in the price of cotton, etc. This is believed to be very fair, all things considered, but it is not by any means to be taken as a true indication of what

the mill is capable of doing. As regards the quality of the goods manufactured, as a test of the qualities of the Naumkeag Mill, it is only necessary for me to say, specimens of them took the premium at the late Annual Exhibition of the Mechanics' Charitable Association at Boston, and at that of the American Institute at New York, as being superior in quality to any other article of the kind offered at either place.

The Engineer, who was certainly a credit to his honorable profession, closes his report as follows:—

Gentlemen,—But one thing more remains for me to do. I cannot permit myself to close this report without one feeble effort to impress it strongly and forcibly on your judgment that, in order to ensure that degree of success which your noble enterprise so richly merits, the management of the establishment must be of the best description. Your mill is the largest in the United States, and of novel construction. Its character is such that, with the aid of sound judgment, scientific knowledge, and great practical skill, its success can hardly fail to equal your reasonable wishes. On the other hand, if these, or any of these, should unhappily be wanting in the management, the result will of necessity be disastrous. Accept then, Gentlemen, as the friendly admonition of one deeply solicitous for the interest of the Corporation, the hope that you will, by all means, ensure to the Naumkeag Mill the very best management which our country can furnish.

It is interesting to supplement Colonel James' report with contemporary accounts of these beginnings of the Naumkeag, and this I am able to do from conversations with a man who, when a boy of ten, lived on the Point and day by day witnessed the marvelous change of a district of waving hay-fields to a bustling factory site with hundreds of operatives actively employed,—the sibilant swish of the scythe in the lush grass supplanted by the whirr of spindles and the throb of looms, and the evening quiet of its pastoral precincts broken by the Mill bell telling the time hour by hour throughout the night. In the morning there would be a rude alarm at five o'clock, and in the evening a peaceful curfew at nine.



REMINISCENCES OF A FORMER RESIDENT OF THE  
POINT.

Mr. Francis A. Moreland, of Everett, now in his ninety-fourth year, lived on the Point as a child, and distinctly remembers the excitement when, as an observant lad, he followed the building operations,—noting the army of men leveling the site, digging the foundation and raising the walls of what, to youthful eyes, seemed to be the most wonderful and biggest building in the world! There were ships at the sea-wall, unloading all sorts of material, slow-plodding oxen dragging huge stones for the underpinning, and enormous timbers for floors and roof, and later heavy teams bringing strange and fascinating machines to fill the great rooms.

It was David Merritt who trucked the original machinery and the first cotton, and it is interesting to record that in the more than fourscore years up to the present time, David Merritt, his son and his successors, always under the same name, have trucked all the machinery and cotton to the Mill and also the finished product to the railroad.

Mr. Moreland particularly recalls the operation of hoisting the machinery into the Mill and gives a graphic account of it. The Mill was over 400 feet long, of four stories and an attic, and had two square towers on the southern side, with a wide door opening at each story. It was to these doors that the heavy machinery was hoisted by a gang of lusty workmen, most of whom had been sailors at some time or other. These men were in charge of a retired mariner named Ralph Butterfield, who seems to have been eminently fitted for his job of yardmaster, and especially qualified at this time of installing the equipment. He is described as brawny, thickset, his face deep-tanned, almost hidden by a grizzled beard, and his ears adorned with little gold rings, and above all endowed by nature with a voice of tremendous power, and by vocation with a vocabulary extensive, picturesque and convincing. The falls, with their huge blocks, were hooked to the outrigger at the top of the tower, and while most of the machinery was hoisted hand over hand, or

by the crew walking away man-o'-war fashion, some of the heaviest pieces required the use of a windlass. When they were hoisting by hand, Mr. Moreland recalls the yardmaster standing in the tower doorway, far aloft, lustily yo-ho'ing to give the time to the men as they swayed away on the rope, while, if the windlass was used, some ancient sailorman was sure to strike into an old sea chanty, and the great piece of machinery would go into place to the tune of "Away Rio," "Sally Brown," "Good-bye, Fare Ye Well," or some other familiar capstan chanty.

Particularly interesting are Mr. Moreland's reminiscences of the Point,—the beach where the boys went in swimming, the big trees under which they lay in the hot summer days, the games they played, his schoolmates, the Brown School and its famous master, Mr. John B. Fairfield, with his strenuous but effective methods to inculcate habits of punctuality, industry and concentration. This, however, is not the place for what would be a most fascinating chapter in a story of Salem life in the first half of the last century.

Soon after the Mill was built, a street, afterwards called Union Street, was laid out, and a bridge built across the river for the particular accommodation of the mill operatives living down town. This bridge was for a long time called the New Bridge, and Mr. Moreland recalls that on a memorable occasion the draw-tender was obliged to raise the bridge to separate the Pointers from the Downtowners, when the boys of the two factions were engaged in one of their really sanguinary sectional fights.

Accompanying a chart showing the corporation grounds and other interesting places in the neighborhood, Mr. Moreland writes: "I have drawn it as it was at the time I lived there and until about 1853, when they began to cut up the rear land, then mowing fields, into house lots, and make new streets. I visited the place some years before the great fire, and all the territory from the old Briggs estate to the water had been so thickly covered with dwellings, I could only with difficulty locate the old fields where we, carefree boys, romped in the grass, waded



in 'Browning's Pond,' and had our clambakes on Stage Point, now entirely washed away. It is a crude chart, but absolutely correct so far as relative positions are concerned, for I have a most retentive memory, especially for matters of long ago, and every bit of beach, wharfage, old street, dock and lumber yard and green mowing field is indelibly fixed in my memory as clear as yesterday. On that visit I passed down the entire length of the street between the old mill and the boarding-houses. The mill was humming away as of old, and I could hardly resist the impulse to stop at No. 6 first block, go in and find father, mother, Aunt Sarah, sister Augusta, brother John! Alas, what a gulf of years lay between me and that vision!"

PROGRESS OF THE NAUMKEAG STEAM COTTON  
COMPANY.

With the passing years, other mills were erected, until the space between the original building and the South River was closely covered, and the land to the south had been gradually acquired for storehouses, coal piles, and the other appurtenances of a thriving and growing concern. This expansion had absorbed the Seccomb Oil Works, the Joshua Brown Boatyard, and to the extreme south the old Sterry Smith Iron Foundry, while everywhere the new streets mentioned by Mr. Moreland were closely built up with modern dwellings of the three and four-decker type, mostly of wood and of notably flimsy construction.

But the way to old Stage Point was still open and all who cared had free access thereto.

June 25, 1914, was a hot, dry day. At noon, a fire started in a small manufacturing establishment on Boston Street, a mile and a half away, and after a course changed several times by a veering wind, reached the mill district late in the afternoon. In a few hours, the proud plant, built up through seventy years of careful planning, was reduced to stark brick walls and tangled masses of junk! Wooden copings and sash, hard pine timbers, oil-soaked floors, and tinder-like cotton, helped to make the job complete; at the same time, lack of water rendered the

sprinkler equipment inoperative, and the efforts of the city and mill fire departments were futile against the fierce heat from hundreds of burning dwellings closely surrounding the plant.

Adequate insurance, together with an optimistic and progressive board of management, made it possible to begin a rebuilding program at once. The improved and modern layout of the plant occupied not only all the territory of the old mill but extended much farther to the south, so that with new sea-walls and more filling, all traces of the oil works, the marine railway, Brown's boat-yard and Miller's shipyard, were quite obliterated; but to the extreme south there remained a remnant of Stage Point, just a suggestion of it, and this the neighborhood was still at liberty to use as of old, and this privilege now was mostly used by the older men who, on fine days in spring and through the summer, would congregate there and talk of old days, calling to mind the building of ships there, the tragedy of the *Prairie Flower* and the launching of the *Taria Topan*. As they talked and smoked in the detached way so much affected by old men, they would look across the narrow strip of water to Derby Wharf and sigh, perhaps, at sight of the old *Mindoro* lying alongside, with yards cock-billed, awaiting her last journey.

In 1924, an expansion of the Mill plant called for further progress to the south, and this time the necessary grading leveled all that remained of the slight eminence of the Point, and the extended sea-wall cut its submerged end from the landward portion. This completed the obliteration of Stage Point, and after nearly three hundred years of use, the place became only a name,—one more tradition in the annals of Salem. The Big Rock, settled deep in the shifting gravel, is incorporated in the structure of the sea-wall, its smoke-blackened side tilted out of sight forever!

Perhaps next June I may go down to Stage Point to view the pageant of the second coming of the Charter ship, and standing on the sea-wall there, I shall scan the harbor—Naugus Head, the Neck, the beautiful Beverly



shore, the treeless islands, the sparkling bay—to catch a first glimpse of the coming ship, and as her ancient outline meets the view, it well may be that at my feet the “Rock” will then tune in to some responsive cell of my sub-conscious self, and in those static waves I’ll read a message such as this:—

I have served long—age-long my bulk has been the beacon to this safe harbor, my shade has been for aye the trysting place of youth, and in the warmth of my reflected heat, old age has basked. My sheltered niche has been the feasting place of men since time began,—red men and white,—aye white men this thousand years, for know, in that far-distant age, fair travel-worn adventurers have sought me out, and here found comfort after long voyaging from their northern home,—and from my topmost footing the good *Arbella* was descried as she made harbor, and round about this place was gathered the eager concourse to welcome her and the precious document she safely brought. Since then, my friendly bulk has served its turn for three full centuries, and now that same great bulk holds back the encroaching sea. I still serve!

The story of Stage Point is ended.

August 14, 1929.

Mr. J. Foster Smith:

Dear Sir: I take pleasure in submitting for your inspection a plan of the grounds and buildings of the Naumkeag Corporation and other places of interest in that region, as I remember them to have been in the year 1847 and a few years later, when I was a schoolboy.

The plan is not drawn to any scale, but I am certain it is very correct as to the relative positions, for I have a very retentive memory, especially for matters of long ago.

I must admit that much of it is out of proportion, in my effort to squeeze so much territory into so small a place.

I remember our front door, the sixth tenement in No. 3 on the plan, was nearly opposite the first tower where they hoisted in most of the new machinery, and I was interested to sit on our front steps and watch the work and listen to the "Yo-hoing" of Mr. Butterfield. So I have used those places as objective points (See small X on No. 3 and on first factory tower). I've squeezed the streets together and then the mowing fields are all out of proportion to the other parts, but the plan shows their position.

Stage Point should have a more extensive sweep, but the plan will in a way show how it was in that far-off time. A very narrow path led to a small grass patch there.

I have shown a line for Derby Wharf, but really it should be so far away that its outer end would bear about 45 degrees from Stage Point.

I submit a numbered list, so one can identify the various points of interest as they were at the time I lived there, but changes since the great fire have entirely obliterated all the old landmarks.

A typewritten copy would be more readable, for at almost ninety-four my hand has become quite unsteady.

Hoping the plan will, in a way, help to give an idea of the region in 1847, I am,

Yours very truly,

FRANCIS A. MORELAND.



KEY TO PLAN.

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- No. 1 Factory—400 ft. long.  
“ 2 Cloth Room.  
“ 3 First Block—7 tenements.  
“ 4 Second Block—6 tenements.  
“ 5-5 Back yards to Blocks.  
“ 6-6 Browning House and Cow barn.  
“ 7 Briggs' House.  
“ 8 Briggs' Greenhouses.  
“ 9 Comstock Cottage.  
“ 10-10 Joe Rose's House & Garden (Calker & Graver).  
“ 11 Salem Marine Railway.  
“ 12-12 Smith's Sperm Oil Mill.  
“ 13-13 Smith's Wharf.  
“ 14-14 Sterry Smith's Iron Foundry.  
“ 15 “Browning's Pond,” salt water, fed from sluice-way.  
under sea wall.  
“ 16 Kimball's Grocery Store.  
“ 17 Rubber Mill (burnt later).  
“ 18 Methodist Church.  
“ 19 New Bridge, so called, to Union Street.  
“ 20 Old Draw Bridge on Lafayette Street.  
“ 21 “Stage Point” as it was in 1847.  
“ 22 Mr. Caleb A. Smith's House. He owned the wharf,  
oil mill, railway.

The X shows the pump where all got their water, as there was no aqueduct in South Salem in 1847.

The O's mean two immense Elm Trees in which we used to rig swings.

The plan is not drawn to any scale, only just as I remember the region in 1847.

## RALPH C. BROWNE: AN APPRECIATION.

BY REAR ADMIRAL REGINALD R. BELKNAP, U. S. N.

Some years ago, as a lieutenant was leaving a ship to go on the staff of an admiral, his captain said: "Now remember; when things go right, the credit will go to the admiral, and if they go wrong, it will be blamed on the staff." That is one way of saying, what experience shows, that it is often difficult to place credit where it belongs in many doings, especially so in the operations of war. In one of Mahan's books, he says: "Why was it the forces in some great victories met where they did? When and by whom was the decision made to send them there? Harking back to 1812, how came the frigate *Constitution* to be in fit condition to win over the *Guerriere*, the most far-reaching victory in our sea history? In the Civil War, how was it that such a vessel as the *Monitor* could arrive at a decisive point so opportunely? None of these instances were mere happenings; where belongs the credit?"

What I am going to tell begins at the starting point of an operation of the recent war. Had the decision then been otherwise, there would have been failure, or at least a very minor success. This decision of a lay mind made possible a great success in an unprecedented operation of great magnitude; one which will stand out for years, if not forever, as a remarkable feat in naval history and in the history of the art of war itself. That operation was the North Sea Mine Barrage, which was set in motion by the device of a Salem inventor.

It will be remembered that the immediate occasion of the United States entering into the war was the resumption of ruthless submarine warfare by the Central Powers. Hardly was war declared before the Navy Department was flooded with inventions of all sorts to end the submarine menace, and with it the war, in short order. It was necessary to appoint several boards of experienced officers to consider these inventions, some of which were put to actual experiment. Some even were put to trial



which, from a practical point of view under service conditions, had no promise at all, yet were so strongly urged that a test had to be made.

One proposal was a safety lane across the Atlantic, 3,000 miles of a double line of nets in sections consecutively numbered. The nets were made sensitive, so that when penetrated by a submarine an automatic radio transmitter would broadcast the section number. Just what decisive result would follow was not made clear; but several days of practical demonstration in Long Island Sound was necessary to prove that the invention was not practical outside of a still pool.

Common to a number of these inventions was the idea to defeat the submarines by blocking them in their bases and keeping those that were out from getting back. A plan so simple and logical would naturally have occurred to the Allies in the three years of war before we came in. They had rejected it as impractical under the circumstances.

A glance at the map shows that the German bases on the home coast could not be shut in by blocking the North Sea unless the barrier extended from Scotland across to Norway and Dover Strait also were barred. For the Kiel Canal connected the North Sea bases with those in the Baltic, making it easy to pass from Wilhelmshaven, on the North Sea, through the canal into the Baltic and out through the Skagerrack into the North Sea again, well to the northward. Down in the southeastern part of the North Sea the British had sown mine fields, making a large area of foul ground, which forced all vessels coming out of Wilhelmshaven to skirt the Danish coast until clear of the mined area. But then they were free, to steer for the open ocean, either south or north of the Shetland Islands, at will.

To put a barrier across from Scotland to Norway was on its face a stupendous problem. The distance is about two hundred and fifty miles, somewhat greater than that from Boston to New York. The only possible means was a mine field of a size never dreamed of. Incidentally, one other means suggested to our Navy Department

is not without interest. A group of skyscraper builders proposed that a number of Flatiron Building frames should be erected horizontally on shipbuilding ways, the bottoms and part of the sides and ends filled in with cement, then launched, towed out into place in the North Sea, and sunk by blowing holes in the bottom. End to end, twelve to the sea mile, they would make an impassable hurdle, which would be open and strong enough to endure heavy wave action. Some 500,000 tons of shipping to carry the material over, and the transportation, housing, subsistence, management, and labor involvement of 50,000 workmen, dismissed the proposal. That was one scheme the British had not considered, safe to say; they do not go in for skyscrapers as we do. But they had considered a barrier of mines, notwithstanding its unheard-of magnitude.

The reasons for its being considered impracticable were several. In the first place, a field of that length would require 400,000 mines, containing about 60,000 tons of high explosive—a heavy demand to add to that for the army front. Supposing the explosive available, the mechanical task of manufacturing all those mines would have been a large order, about the equivalent of making 200,000 Ford cars. But if that too had been solved, then would come the question to put the mines down, and, leaving out the risks and difficulties, the mine-laying force at disposal had a capacity of 20,000 a month, assuming no delays. Working at it continually, they would be engaged twenty months; and before six months were over the heavy wear and tear on the first laid parts would require patching there. So it would have been a never-ending, never more than half-completed undertaking. But even assuming that those three obstacles, insurmountable in view of other demands, had nevertheless been set aside, the fact remained that the British did not have in 1917, nor until the spring of 1918, a type of mine that was satisfactory, one that could be relied on to go where intended, stay there, and explode when touched by a vessel's hull. Altogether, there was more than sufficient ground for deciding that a mine barrage from Scotland



across to Norway was impracticable for the British Navy to undertake.

A different but connected task was closing Dover Strait, about twenty-six miles wide. There is a strong current, five knots at times, make a very rough sea when the wind is contrary. The bottom is hard and smooth as a billiard table, to quote Admiral Jellicoe, and as the water is not very deep and wave motion extends down as far as sixty feet, ordinary anchored mines would not stay in place. Ground mines, lying on the bottom were the only kind to be considered; to be set off in some particular way, such as by harmonic response to the vibration of a small vessel's propellor—a device not always discriminating! Dover Strait was closed in 1918, however by block ships moored at intervals, equipped with guns and searchlights, to support the active patrol vessels. But that did not help solve the closing of the wide-open North Sea. Up to July, 1918, enemy submarines passed in and out, to and from the open ocean where the trade routes were, without any harm or effective hindrance.

About the time we went into the war, the convoy system was adopted for all merchant vessels, and it proved very effective, greatly reducing the losses of shipping. Yet it did not eliminate the submarine menace by any means, nor did it alter the determination of the German Admiralty to build larger submarines, to wage the campaign farther out, where protection would be more difficult to furnish and from where an injured vessel would have smaller prospects of getting into port. How to block the submarines in their bases was still a very live question.

Among the inventions submitted with that aim was one containing a device which, if applied to a mine, would multiply its value by three. Now at once that reduced the North Sea requirement from 400,000 to 133,000. At the same time, our Navy Department proposed that we furnish the mines needed, or a very large proportion of them, and that we also furnish the force to lay them in place.

The British Admiralty was not readily convinced.

Their own experience with mines had been none too happy. They sent over a young lieutenant of mine-laying experience to see this so promising new invention. He arrived in Newport for the tests in August. His attitude suggested an iceberg. But the inventor put his device overboard, touch it, and the primer went off as intended. The trial board dropped the mine from a height of forty feet, tried it lying down, and did all kinds of things to it; yet every time it worked and the primer went off. Our young Briton began to thaw, and soon he became as warm towards the device as we were. After receiving his report, the British Admiralty were more receptive when Admiral Mayo, Commander-in-chief of our Fleet, definitely proposed undertaking a joint operation. It was accordingly agreed that the American and British Navies would co-operate in laying a minefield barrier across the North Sea, the ultimate location decided being from the Orkneys to a point on the Norway coast about 150 miles above the Skagerrack. The British would alone close Dover Strait.

It may be remembered that the first naval casualties in 1914 were caused by mines laid off the mouth of the Thames by a German sea-resort steamer, which had been equipped as a mine layer. A British light cruiser destroyed her, and was herself destroyed by getting on the German mines. It was not long before it became necessary to employ 5,000 steam fishing trawlers as mine-sweepers, to keep the channels into harbors and along the coast clear of the mines that were being laid continually along the British Isles. With an average of ten men to a trawler, 50,000 of the seafaring populations were tied up by the mine menace along the coast. Thus it was plain that mines would play an even larger part than in previous wars; and although our Administration attitude before 1916 was gradually not favorable to war preparedness, still a great deal could be done in the Fleet without special orders from Washington. Accordingly, in the latter part of 1914, the development of the mining weapon was taken up with decision.

Before going to Berlin as Naval Attache in 1907, I



had been executive officer of a battleship, where the ten mines which all vessels of that type carried were regarded as a curse, their military value as a joke. There is a story about Father Gleason, chaplain of the *Missouri*, going out with Lieutenant Davis, Gunnery Officer, to see the annual minelaying. Properly behaved mines are of a retiring disposition, disappearing as soon as put overboard and remaining under water, out of sight. Ours behaved often like some children, however. On this occasion, number one mine went over and promptly came up again, bobbing about serenely on the surface like a buoy. Number two did the same, also number three, and so on to number nine. But the last one went down and stayed down. Said the chaplain, "Oh, Davis, what a pity! otherwise you would have had a perfect score."

Not long after my arrival in Germany, I was invited and went to visit a plant near Cologne where the high explosive TNT and submarine mines were manufactured. They had a pleasant way there of showing you everything in the forenoon, letting you see and read and ask about anything that might interest you. Then there would be a wonderful lunch in a grotto, with everything in the world to eat and drink. After that, anything you could remember you were welcome to. However, I did remember enough to convince me that the mine seen there was far better than any we had. Next year I was shown a new and improved model; and in June 1910, at Kiel, I saw the trial at nine o'clock of a further improved model. It was shown an hour later to Admiral von Tirpitz, who was to pass upon its acceptability for the German Navy. Thus I learned at first hand that at least three years had been necessary to develop to the satisfaction of the German Navy a mine that at the outset had seemed to me, by comparison with ours, wonderfully efficient.

Soon after war began in 1914, I was again in Germany as an observer. They were very open to us then, and by good chance I picked up some information that later proved valuable. Little did I think at the time that its application would fall in part to me; but that soon fol-

lowed. Late in 1914, I was placed in command of the twenty-five year old cruiser *San Francisco*, which had been converted two years before into our Navy's first mine-layer.

Basing on Pensacola, on the northern Gulf coast of Florida, we began the development of the rapid handling of mines in large numbers, embarking them in a mine-layer from boats, from another vessel alongside, or directly from a wharf, and laying them and picking them up in the open sea, in fairly bad, as well as in good, weather. It soon proved that the best results were obtained by putting the work in the hands of the men themselves, thus forcing every man to realize his responsibility for the faithful performance of his part in every detail. Officers were always standing by, keenly observant, ready to intervene to prevent accident and able to note the need or opportunity for improvement; but for the most part they kept hands off and remained silent. In that way the crew and ship worked up a high state of efficiency. In July, 1915, the first fleet unit for the mine weapon was formed, the "Mining and Mine-Sweeping Division," consisting of three mine-layers and four large mine-sweepers, the division being placed under my command. In the course of a year and a half we developed our methods and abilities enough to be able to say, when the North Sea Barrage came up for consideration, that our own experience showed it was practicable.

Many difficulties were discussed at Washington before the decision to proceed. No mines had ever been laid in water deeper than 300 feet, yet it was proposed to cross a deep of 900 feet, along the coast of Norway. But there was no reason why mines could not be laid in such deep water, and we did it later, according to plan. Then the fog and darkness would betray us onto our own minefields previously laid; but though we had not worked out the answer to that, we knew we could find one. It was pointed out that any such minelaying operations as proposed would be raided; but others said, very well, that will bring out the German Fleet again; the minelayers will be the bait and will have a front seat at the second battle of



Jutland. One admiral, noted for boldness and tenacity, characterized the proposition as an utterly foolish attempt, And even after the decision to undertake it, one of the admirals said, "I believe after all that the barrage will never be laid." The decision was taken, however, and on October 29, 1917, the Secretary, fresh from Cabinet meeting, gave the word to proceed.

The value of the new device that enabled such a decision to be taken may be better understood by considering the mine itself and its working. Most mines used are anchored. The type that is cast adrift does not enter into this account. Anchored mines sometimes break adrift, but then a safety device renders them harmless, provided the device works. Our mines were 30-inch spheres of about 3-16-inch thick galvanized steel. Each contained 300 pounds of TNT. The mine anchors were in the form of a box, so formed in order to retard sinking. Anchor and mine together weighed 1400 pounds. A reel inside the box held the anchor cable of steel wire rope. Outside a sort of earring, called a plummet, was attached by a wire cord to the latch on the anchor cable-reel inside. The plummet cord was wound on a small reel inside the plummet itself and it ran up over to a trip-hoop, which held the mine firmly in its seat on the anchor. Four small wheels, flanged like car wheels, facilitated moving of mines along a ship's decks, on tracks. The track rails looked like a pair of brackets [ ]. The wheels run between the two flanges of the rails, holding the mines securely on the tracks, no matter how heavily the ship may roll.

At the ship's stern the tracks led to a launching port or door, where the mine track dipped sharply downward. When pushed overboard, the mine will turn in the air and dive head first, then come up to the surface, showing a few inches of the mine, still hooked to the anchor. The box-like bulk of the anchor gave it some buoyancy, until water had leaked in to offset that. A little fifth wheel on the anchor held the plummet fast as long as this wheel was on the track; but as soon as the mine turned upright in its dive, the plummet dropped clear, reeling out its cord.

The plummet would come to the end of its cord with a jerk, which tripped the hook, releasing the anchor from the mine, and lifting the latch, allowing the mine anchor cable to unreel. The anchor would begin to sink, the mine remaining partly afloat, the plummet leading the way to the bottom. The plummet would strike bottom first its cord would immediately slacken and allow the latch to lock the anchor cable reel, so that no more line could play out. The anchor continuing to sink, would draw the mine under water. As the anchor line stopped paying out the moment the plummet struck bottom, the mine was drawn beneath the surface a distance equal to the plummet cord, regardless of irregularities of the bottom. No matter how many humps and hollows the bottom might have, all mines having plummet cords of equal length would come to rest at equal depth below the surface.

In 1917 the British Navy and ours were using a mine invented by an Italian. It was not satisfactory for several reasons, an important one being that it was far from sure fire. The new device added an antenna to the mine. From the mine itself, which alone was as dangerous as best of any type, an antenna of wire rope was unrolled and held up by a small copper float, ten feet or more below the surface. The antenna was seventy feet long, and if it were touched anywhere, the mine would explode. The antenna made the mine dangerous over three times the space menaced by the ordinary mine. That was one great advantage. Another was that the new mine was very delicate in its firing device; the difficulty was to keep it from going off too soon. The old mine was comparatively hard and uncertain to set off. Enemy vessels will not be so accommodating as to tease a mine into action. Thus, the advantages of the new antenna mine—triple reach and extreme sensitiveness—were enormous.

How the manufacture of mines was parceled out, one part here, a few there, among five hundred contractors, and accomplished at one thousand a day, the device meanwhile kept secret; how twenty-six cargo vessels made sixty trips from Hampton Roads to the west coast of Scotland, carrying mine parts to be assembled in complete units,



mine and anchor, for the first time at the assembly bases at Inverness and Invergordon, on the northeast coast of Scotland; how the small Mine Force of the Atlantic Fleet was expanded five times, into Mine Squadron One, of ten minelayers, eight of them newly converted from the passenger and freight service, how they carried 5,400 at one time, 860 in each of the four largest; how these vessels were planned and equipped on our own experience, using standard American appliances: Otis elevators, York ice machines, "life-savers," not of pep-o-mint but of hard compressed salt, for soluble washers as safety time-locks—to mention only a few; how the "mining excursions," so-called because suggesting a happy return, were carried out, screened by destroyers against submarines and supported against raids by a force of heavy ships; how the American crews uncomplainingly and cheerfully put up with extreme crowding in order to accommodate more mines; how they gave up smoking below decks, to diminish the ever-present fire risk; how they fulfilled a strenuous program with well-sustained excellence of performance, without casualty; how they kept admirable discipline and morale, in spite of limited diversion; and how the barrier grew steadily until an area of 6,000 square miles, 235 miles long by 25 wide became deadly with 10,000 tons of TNT, in 71,500 mines, of which four-fifths were of American design, make, and laying; all this has been told connectedly elsewhere.\*

It was the new device, which tripled a mine's reach and made it extremely sensitive, that set the whole operation in motion. And it was none too soon. Begun about November 1st, it was June before minelaying began.

Once begun, the minefield soon brought results. In July it damaged two enemy submarines. One was towed into port by a friend; the other has never been heard from. Ever widening and lengthening, the great minefield continued to damage and destroy, every month. In the less than five months from beginning until the Armistice, six to eight submarines were sunk and as many more

\* "The Yankee Mining Squadron," by Captain Reginald R. Belknap; published by U. S. Naval Institute, Annapolis, Md.

were damaged or turned back. And above the actual loss was the growing demoralization, due to more and more submarines not returning, attributable to this deadly barrier. Already proved beyond question to be a practicable accomplishment, such a barrier could be made more and more effective, even absolutely impassable. Late in October we were held back six hours by news in the Grand Fleet that the German Fleet was coming out; but mutinous spirit tied that fleet fast, brought about in no small part by this great minelaying operation. And the military effect was the greater for being accomplished in so short a period, sixteen submarines destroyed or disabled in four months.

These are the main points, told from the far, the operating end. There is peculiar interest here in the whole affair, for it began in Massachusetts. Two Massachusetts men were in at the very beginning: one was the inventor; the other was Rear Admiral Ralph Earle, then Chief of the Naval Bureau of Ordnance, now the President of Worcester Polytechnic Institute. I have described how long it took the Germans to develop an already good mine into one satisfactory for their navy—over three years. And the British Navy, after more than three years of actual war, did not have a reliable design to offer us. Yet, in October, 1917, Admiral Earle promised, in his official capacity as the responsible bureau chief, that the new mines would be forthcoming at the rate of one thousand a day as soon as they were wanted in the following spring, and when he made that official promise there was not even a complete sketch of the new mine design in existence. Such confident courage and nerve in technical administration are not common. The success of the operation crowned his.

The other Massachusetts man, the inventor, was Ralph C. Browne of Salem.











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